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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

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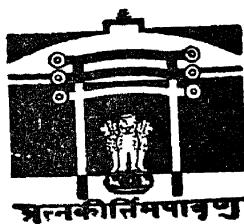
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1967

KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

So far, not many Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Delhi Sultans from the areas now comprising the State of Rajasthan, particularly its western part, have come to light. Whatever epigraphs were discovered in the past, have been either noticed or published by Major-General A. Cunningham and his collaborators in the Archaeological Survey and by Dr J. Horovitz, Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī, Dr M. A. Chaghtāī, Dr A. Mahdi Husain and myself in the Archaeological reports or the previous issues of this journal. These inscriptions are from Ajmer,¹ Bayana and Kaman,² Chitorgarh,³ Jalore,⁴ Sambhar,⁵ Bari Khatu,⁶ Didwara,⁷ Ladnun⁸ and Nagaur,⁹ and Hindaun,¹⁰ respectively in Ajmer, Bharatpur, Chitorgarh, Jalore, Jaipur, Nagaur and Sawai Madhopur districts. But the published readings of quite a few of these epigraphs are either incomplete or incorrect, and their revised versions are worth publication.

Since then, no new inscription of the Mamlūk, Khalji and Tughluq dynasties was reported until during the past decade and a half, when tours of Shri N G Ghanam, Exploration Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, then stationed at Jodhpur, Shri I A. Omeri, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, Shri W. H. Siddiqi, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of my office and myself to different parts of the State brought to light some more interesting and historically important epigraphs of, or assignable to, the above dynasties.¹¹ On the other hand, none of the inscriptions which were briefly noticed previously received any further attention until

¹ A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 261, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, pp. 15, 29, 30.

² Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 56, 70, 72, 76, 131, *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 20, 39, 42; *ibid.*, 1937-38, pp. 5-6. A few inscriptions of the Ahadī chiefs of Bayana were published in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 59-63.

³ *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 67, 69, *ibid.*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 71-74.

⁴ *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 49, *ibid.*, 1949-50, p. 32.

⁵ *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1966, pp. 4-18, *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference (PAIOC)*, 8th Session, 1935 (Bangalore, 1937), pp. 632-34, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (PIHC)*, 8th Session, 1945 (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 286-88.

⁷ *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 19-20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII (Calcutta, 1887), pp. 64, 67 (account by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick).

¹⁰ *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 34.

¹¹ These have been listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, for 1955-56, Nos. D. 119, 131, 155, *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. D. 198, 204, *ibid.*, 1965-66, Nos. D. 338, 341, 343, 349. Apart from these, there are some inscriptions of about the same period, which do not contain the names of the reigning monarchs.

recently.¹ three such inscriptions of Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish and Ghiyāthu'd-Din Balban, from Bari Khatu, were studied by me in details in the last issue of this journal.²

It is proposed to study in this article eleven inscriptions. Four of these each come from Bari Khatu and Nagaur, and one each from Bayana, Chatsu in Jaipur district and Mandor in Jodhpur district.

Two of the four Bari Khatu inscriptions studied here are new, while the other two were briefly mentioned by Chaghtāi. One of the last mentioned two was fragmentary and the portion of its text containing the king's name and the date was lost, but on the basis of the surviving title Ghiyāthu'd-Din, Chaghtāi assigned it to the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Din Balban.³ For reasons quoted in the proper place, I feel that it is an inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Din Tughluq Shāh. It is included in the present study (Inscription No. IV). Chaghtāi's notice of the other epigraph (Inscription No. I) was substantially correct, but it omitted to give the name of the builder of the mosque.⁴

As for Nagaur, only one of its four epigraphs (Inscription No. VII) was previously noticed. But its details as given by Mr H. B. W. Garrick are incorrect.⁵ One each of the other three (Inscription Nos. II, III and V), found by me in the course of my recent tour to that place, belongs to the time of 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī, Qutbu'd-Din Mubārak Shāh and Tughluq Shāh.⁶

All the remaining three inscriptions, which are, one each, from Bayana, Chatsu and Mandor are unpublished. The impressions from which they are published here were prepared in the course of my tour to these places in 1955.

A king-wise break up will show that three of these epigraphs belong to the Khaljī dynasty: two are of 'Alāu'd-Din and one of his son Qutbu'd-Din Mubārak Shāh. The rest pertain to the Tughluqs: two were set up in the time of Tughluq Shāh, and three each belong to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh and Firūz Shāh. Again, one epigraph each of 'Alāu'd-Din, Tughluq Shāh and Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh and all the three of Firūz Shāh, are fragmentary.

Since not much authentic information is available about the history of Rajasthan during the early period of the Muslim rule, these epigraphs are bound to be of sufficient interest to the students of medieval history. It may be recalled in this connexion that the inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī, Tughluq Shāh and his son Muhammad Shāh from Chitorgarh, have helped to determine the history of that place under 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī and Muhammad bin Tughluq and exposed the legendary character of the bardic accounts that had found favour even with serious students of history.⁷ Coming as they do from different regions in the erstwhile Bharatpur, Jaipur and Jodhpur states of Rajputana, the records under study can be absolutely relied upon as the most authentic contemporary documents on the political status of those places under the Muslim rule.

Then, these epigraphs, as usual, provide either some new names in the political hierarchy of officials or a little more information about them. For example, it is only from the Bari Khatu

¹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 245; *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 194, 202

² *EIAAPS*, 1966, pp. 4-18.

³ *PIHG*, 8th Session (1945), p. 286

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 287

⁵ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 64, 69

⁶ I also found at Nagaur a fragmentary epigraph of Muhammad bin Sām. It is dated A.H. 594 (1197-98) and is, thus, the earliest Muslim record found so far in Rajasthan (*ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D 335). It is proposed to be published in the next issue.

⁷ *EIAAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 69-70.

record of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh (Inscription No VI) that we know that Malik Nānak Sultānī, the ākhurbek-i-maisara—who held the same post, it will be recalled, in the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī—was entitled Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn and held the *iqtā'* of Ajmer. The same epigraph also furnishes the name of the *muharrir* of the region. Another epigraph from the same place though fragmentary, provides the important information that Firūz, son of Muhammad, held the post of shahnabek of the *pāigūh-i-khāss-i-qadīm* and the *iqtā'*, presumably, of the region. It also mentions Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, of royal extraction, whose name is unfortunately lost, but who apparently held a high rank.

In short, these inscriptions are quite important historically. From the palaeographical point of view too, they represent the styles of the mural records of the fourteenth century in different parts of Rajasthan, and should be of sufficient interest to students of calligraphy.

'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī

Three inscriptions of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī which were found after his only inscription from Rajasthan, the one at Bayana, was published some fifty years back,¹ were published in a previous issue of this Series.² Of the two records studied below for the first time one was found only recently, but though the other was briefly described some time back, its text was not published (see p. 2, *infra*). Incidentally, a Sanskrit inscription of his was found in the north-western part of the Jodhpur district. It mentions Tāju'd-Dīn 'Alī as his governor at Medta and records the construction of a well in 1302-03.³

I INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 702, FROM BARI KHATU

This inscription which was first mentioned and briefly described by Chaghtāi about two decades ago,⁴ is from Bari Khatu, situated in the Jael *tahsil* of the Nagaur district. It is engraved around the rectangular border of an arch of red sandstone, which is now built up in the inner side of the wall, to the left of the main entrance, of a mosque situated in Mahalla-Sayyidān.⁵ The frame was lying loose in the basement of the mosque when Chaghtāi first found it.

Occupying a total space of about 2.75 m. by 11 cm., its text, which is in Arabic, records that a mosque was ordered to be built by one Muhammad, during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh in A H 702 (1302-03). The other titles used for the king are Sikandar-i-Thānī and Nāsir-i-Amīr-i-Mu'minīn which are known from his other epigraphs also.⁶

A few letters being damaged on account of the weathering of the stone, the parental name of the builder could not be deciphered. It was doubtfully read as al-Fakhri in our annual report for 1962-63, but now I feel certain that in any case, the name is not al-Fakhri. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to decipher it satisfactorily, nor could Mr. Siddiqī who had examined the tablet, make it out. The undeciphered name ends in *i* which would make it more like a *nisba* than a

¹ *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 20. The epigraph does not exist now. The mosque on which the inscriptive tablet was set up was demolished in the communal disturbances of 1947.

² *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 72, 73.

³ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (PRWC)*, 1909-10, p. 61 No. 58. A memorial stone dated V S. 1358 (1302) has been recently listed (*ARIE*, 1964-65, No. B, 463).

⁴ *PIHC*, 8th Session (1945), p. 287.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1932-63, No. D, 202. The arched border contains religious text (*ibid.*, No. D, 203).

⁶ *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 2, *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 25, 29.

proper name. And a *nisba* for a parental name, though appearing somewhat unusual, is not quite unlikely, particularly in cases of men of Arab descent. In any case, it has not been possible to read the word

The style of writing is usual *Naskh*, conforming, in broad outlines, to the style of contemporary records. But one aspect of its calligraphy calls for some remarks. The letters in the right panel would appear, even to a casual onlooker, to have been somewhat differently executed, these have more angular flourishes than the rest. This sort of variation in the calligraphy of the same epigraph, is not usually met with. The reason for such an occurrence is difficult to determine, but the possibility that the designer originally intended to write it in the same hand, but changed over to the usual style for want of space, is indicated by the fact that the writing in the left panel is much more than that in the left panel. Another possible explanation is that the designing of the text was done by different hands.

The text, reading anti-clock-wise from the right bottom, is as under—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(a) Right Panel.

امر ببناء هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان

(b) Top Panel.

ن المعظم علاء الدين والدين سكدر الثاني أبو المظفر محمد شاه

(c) Left Panel.

[السلطان] ناصر أمير المؤمنين العبد الضعيف محمد بن اصلحه الله اصلحه

في سنه اثنى و سبعين

TRANSLATION

(a) The construction of this mosque was ordered in the reign of the Sultān,

(b) the magnificent, 'Alā'u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Sikandar-i-Thānī, Abu'l Muẓaffar Muhammad Shāh,

(c) the Sultān, helper of the Commander of the Faithful, by the weak creature Muḥammad, son of , may Allāh reform his actions, in the year A.H. 702 (1302-03).

The identity of the builder cannot be established. Also, in the absence of any titles, etc., it is difficult to say if he had anything to do with the administration of Bari Khatu, the findspot of the inscription, or its neighbourhood.

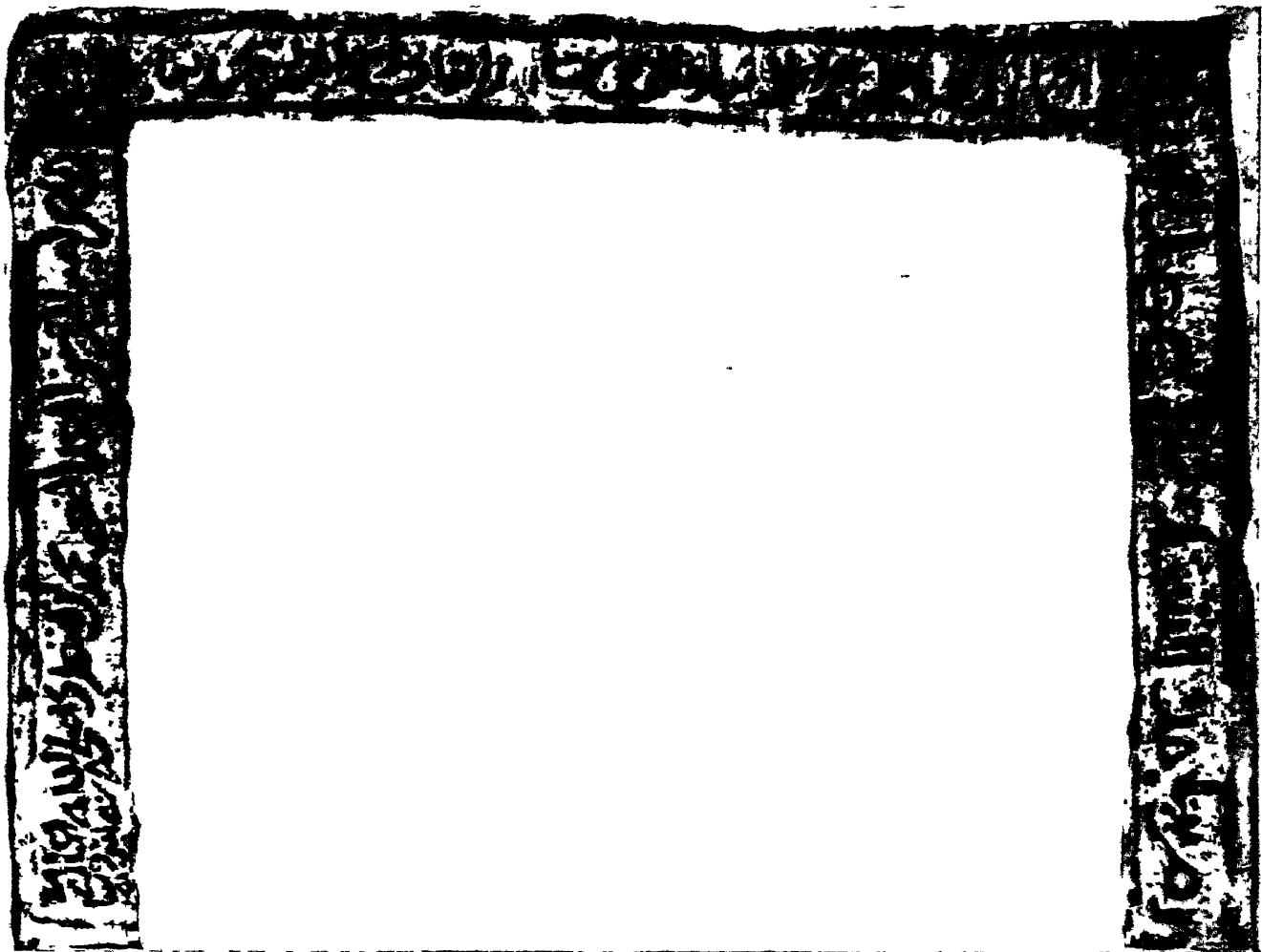
II. FRAGMENTARY RECORD, DATED A. H. 705, FROM NAGAUR

The second inscription of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī is from Nagaur, headquarters of the district in the former Jodhpur State as well as in Rajasthan. It is a picturesque town lying on the Jodhpur-Bikaner section of the Northern Railway, nearly one hundred and ten kilometres south-east of

KHALJĪ AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS

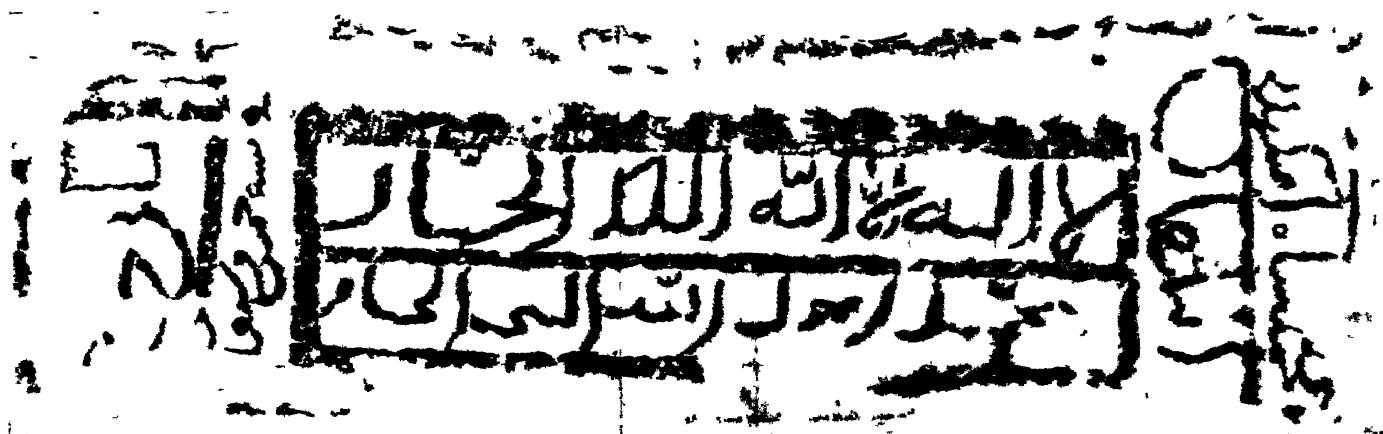
(PLATES I-V)

(a) Epigraph of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, dated A H 702, from Bari Khatu (p. 4)



SCALE .136

(b) Fragmentary record, dated A H 705, from Nagaur (p. 6)



SCALE 17

Bikaner and one hundred and sixty kilometre north-east of Jodhpur. A wall more than six kilometres in length surrounded the town once, but it is now being dismantled in stages by the local Municipality. This is all the more regrettable, since in the battlements and walls were—and still are—embedded a number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions, which indiscriminately get destroyed along with the wall. It is, however, gratifying that a few epigraphical tablets that have escaped the ravage through the active interest of Mr Rahmatu'llāh Raunaq 'Uthmānī and others are preserved in different mosques of the town. Quite a few of these bear inscriptions of the time of the Khānzādas of Nagaur. Even now, at least two such tablets were shown to me in that part of the city-wall that still stands towards the north¹.

Nagaur, in the Siwalik hills, seems to have come into contact with Muslim authority, from an early period. It seems to have been part of the Ghaznavid empire, and it is here that Muhammad Bahām, the recalcitrant governor of Panjab, is stated to have built a fort, in the time of Bahrām Shāh (1118-52). Subsequently, it passed on, along with the territory surrounding it, to the authority of the Delhi Sultāns right from the time of Muhammad bin Sām, whose inscription has been recently identified by me there. Since then Nagaur remained under the Delhi Sultāns. Among its first governors is Malik Karīmu'd-Dīn Hamza (early 13th century). The subsequent governors of Nagaur and Siwalik region during the Mamlūk period include Malik Izzu'd-Dīn Balban (c. 1242-52), Kishlū Khān, brother of Ulugh Khān, later Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban (c. 1252) and Ulugh Khān himself². No specific mention of its governors under the Khaljis and Tughluqs could be traced in works available to me. On the disintegration of the Tughluq empire, Nagaur's governor Shams Khān, a brother of Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarat, established independent rule. His successors ruled for more than a century and are known as Khānzādas. Incidentally, the town lay on the main road from Sind to Delhi, and travellers from foreign countries arriving by road through Sind halted at or passed through it³.

In the centre of, and rising above, the town, is an extensive fort with a double wall about 2 kilometres in circumference, its thickness varying from more than 9 metres at the base to about 3.5 metres at the top. The outer wall is about 7.5 metres and the inner, 15 metres above the ground. In the wall of the fort as in the case of the city-wall, may be seen even today, numerous Persian and Arabic inscriptions (and other parts such as carved *mīhrābs*, blind niches, etc.) obtained from the mosques demolished by Mahārājā Bakht Singh⁴. In the words of Mr Garrick, 'according to the accounts rife at Nagaur, Aurangzeb himself never destroyed more temples than did Bakht Singh mosques, and this may — indeed does — account for the numerous Arabic and Persian inscriptions which I found built topsy-turvy into the main circumvallation of the city — some upside down, some diagonally, and others so that the lines of writing stand up vertically'⁵. Surprisingly, Erskine and Garrick who have described the Fort in some details, do not refer to the

¹ A couple of tablets seen by me previously were found missing in October 1966.

² Minhāj-i-Sirāj, Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī (Lahore, 1952), pp. 23, 85, 106, 124, 164, 167, 175, 76, 193-95, etc.; *ibid.* Eng. tr. Major H. G. Raverty (London, 1881), pp. 200, 469, 520, 549, 611, 616, 668, 685, 689, 695, 696, 702, 759, 767, etc.

³ For a detailed history of Nagaur and its Khānzāda dynasty, please see Chaghtāi, 'Nagaur, A forgotten kingdom', *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, vol. II, Nos 1-2 (1940), pp. 166-83. Also see Dr K. C. Jain, 'A brief History of Nagaur', *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. VII (1960). An exhaustive account of the town and its buildings will be found in *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 260-61, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 48-72, Major K. D. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteers*, vol. III-A, The Western Rajputana States Agency and the Bikaner Agency (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 206-07, *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India (ARASI)*, 1921-22, pp. 71-73. For some of the inscriptions of Nagaur and its vicinity, studied by Chaghtāi, see EIM, 1949-50, pp. 35-53.

⁴ Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁵ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 63.

epigraphical tablets in its wall, as they did in the case of the city-wall. Through the kind permission of the Superintendent of the Household of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur who owns the Fort and under the guidance of Shri Navranglal Bhat, the watchman and Mr Raunaq 'Uthmānī, I visited the fort in company of Mr. Ghanam, and found not less than ten historical inscriptions, not to mention an equal number or even more, of those comprising religious texts. Five of these ten records belong to the time of the Khānzādas, and of the remaining five, one each refers to the rule of Muhammad bin Sām, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī and Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, the date of one falls in the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq and yet one more may be assigned on palaeographical grounds, to the same period.¹

The stone-fragment on which the inscription under study is engraved, is built up into the southern upper wall, not far from the step-well.² It evidently formed the upper part of a rectangular door or very likely, a *mīhrāb*-frame. It is now rectangular in shape, the two side panels having been either hewn off or broken and lost. It measures 1 m by 30 cm. Considerable portion of the writing inscribed in two lines all along is lost. The surviving text comprises a variation of the First Creed inscribed horizontally and the royal name Muhammad Shāh, title 'the second Alexander', and the date A H 705 (1305-06), vertically. The purport of the record cannot be determined, but it is very likely that as in the case of the inscription of Qutbū'd-Dīn to be studied next, which is also engraved on the frame of a *mīhrāb*, it originally belonged to a mosque.

The language of the record appears to be Arabic. The style of writing is ordinary *Naskh*, usually met with in the inscriptions of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. The text reads as under—

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(a) Horizontal portion

(۱) لا إله إلا الله الملك الجبار

(۲) محمد رسول الله النبي المختار

(b) Right side.

(۱) محمد شاه اسكندر

(۲) السلطان

(c) Left side.

(۱) [خ]لاد [ال][ثاني] (۱)

(۲) فی سنه خمس و سعماية

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) There is no god but Allāh the King, the Most Powerful.

(2) Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh, the Apostle, the Elected one

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 337-38.

² *ARIE*, No. D, 341. Nearby is another fragment inscribed with two words from the *Āyatū'l-Kursī* in bold characters of the first years of the 13th century.

Qutbu'd-Din Mubārak Shāh

So far, only four records of Qutbu'd-Din Mubārak Shāh were known from the whole state. one from Jaler, also in erstwhile Jodhpur state and now a district town in the south-eastern part of western Rajasthan,¹ and three from Bayana in eastern Rajasthan, almost bordering on Uttar Pradesh.²

III INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 720, ALSO FROM NAGAUR

This new record of the Khalji king, which is his only inscription to be found in central Rajasthan,³ can be reasonably taken to point to uninterrupted Muslim authority in the region. It is inscribed on the rectangular border of the central *mīhrāb* in the mosque of Makhdūm Husain Nāgaurī, situated in the Phul-Mahal locality at Nagaur.⁴ The horizontal stone-beam contains the Second Creed, while the historical text is inscribed on the right and left sides, the total area of historical writing is about 2·4 m. in length and 14 cm. in width. The style of writing is *Naskh*, and language, Arabic.

This epigraph is not new in the sense that it came to light for the first time during my recent visit, far from that, it was known to the Muslim residents of the town, including Hāfiẓ Mu'inu'd-Dīn and Mr Raunaq 'Uthmānī who has made it a point to locate and note down the readings of the inscriptions at Nagaur. But since they were unable to decipher it, they did not know its purport. On examination, I found it to contain a new record of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn's son Qutbū'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.

Unfortunately, the writing, which is carved in one line, is badly damaged, and as a result, its letters have considerably abraded or even flaked off in places, rendering the decipherment of the text difficult. It seems to record the construction of the mosque in A.H. 720 (1320-21) during the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. It will be observed that the king's rule has been termed, as in the case of his coins and epigraphs, as caliphate. The name of the builder could not be deciphered, due to damaged writing, but in any case, the saint Makhdūm Husa n Nāgaurī with whom the mosque is locally associated, has nothing to do with its construction, as he flourished at a much later date, he died in A.H. 901.⁵

Unfortunately, the month in which the construction took place is not clear, due to the damaged writing. And his other epigraph of A. H. 720, from the *Ukhā-Masjid* at Bayana, too, does not specify the month. But if my tentative reading of the month as *Muharram* is proved to be correct, it would not throw any light on the subject. It will be recalled that the exact date of his death is differently given by different authorities. Contemporary *Amīr Khusraw* gives *Jumādā II*, and *Yahyā Sarhindī*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (who wrote about a century later), gives 5 *Rabi'u'l-Awwal*. Dr K. S. Lal prefers the earlier date given by the later authority.*

¹ *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 49-50

² *Ibid*, 1917-18, p 39-40, 42

³ A Sanskrit inscription recording the construction of a step-well in V S 1373 (1316-17) during his reign was found at Ladnun (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol XII, pp 23 ff)

ARIE, 1965-66, No D, 349.

⁵ 'Abdu'l-Haq Dihlawi, *Al-Habaru'l-Akhyaar Fi-Asrani'l-Abraar* (Delhi, 1914), pp. 182-83.

⁸ Dr K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis* (Allahabad, 1950), p. 345 and fn. 98.

The text reads as under.—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(a) Right side

فی عهد خلاده السلطان الاعظم ظل الله فی العالم اعدل العلاده (۹) مولی (۹).
..... . ابو المطغر (۹) مبارکشاه سلطان (۹)

(b) Left side

بنا هذل المسجد العدد الراجی فی .. المحرم (۹) سنه عشرين و سعماية

TRANSLATION

(a) In the time of the caliphate of the great Sultān, shadow of Allāh in the world, the most just in the caliphate, master (?) Abu'l-Muzaffar (?) Mubārak Shāh Sultān (?),

(b) the construction of the mosque by the slave, hopeful , in . Muha'ram (۹), year (A.H.) twenty and seven hundred (Muharram 720=February-March 1320).

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh

So far only two inscriptions of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh have been found in Rajasthan; they are from Chitorgarh and Jaler¹. His two inscriptions studied below, though fragmentary, are, therefore, significant. Both were found in Nagaur district. One of these is a new record discovered recently.

IV. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM BARI KHATU

The first inscription of Tughluq Shāh and the fourth of this article, is an incomplete record in Persian from Farī Khatu Chaghtāi, who first described its gist in 1945, took it to be of Falban's time. He did not quote it in full and omitted to give certain details². In 1959, I received its photograph for examination and report from the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda. Three years later, Mr. Siddiqi of my office was deputed to have its impressions and also those of others prepared.

The fragmentary inscribed tablet, measuring 68 by 60 cm, is set up on a platform on the bank of the tank called Mūlīk-Tālab, near the western gateway of the town.³ It contains a six-line text in Persian, inscribed in bold *Naskh* letters of the early Tughluq period, which records that the excavation and construction of the tank called Firūz-Sāgīar (i.e. *sāgar* or tank) was done during the governorship of Malīku'l-Umāra Firūz, son of Muhammad, the chief superintendent (*shahna-beb*) of the royal stables (*pāigāh-i-khāss*) and *muqī'* of the region, by Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn. The latter's proper name is lost, but he is mentioned with the sobriquet *khalafu'l-mulūk* (lit. descendant of kings).

¹ *EIAIS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 67, *EIM*, 1949 50, p. 32

² *PIANC*, 8th Session (1945), p. 286

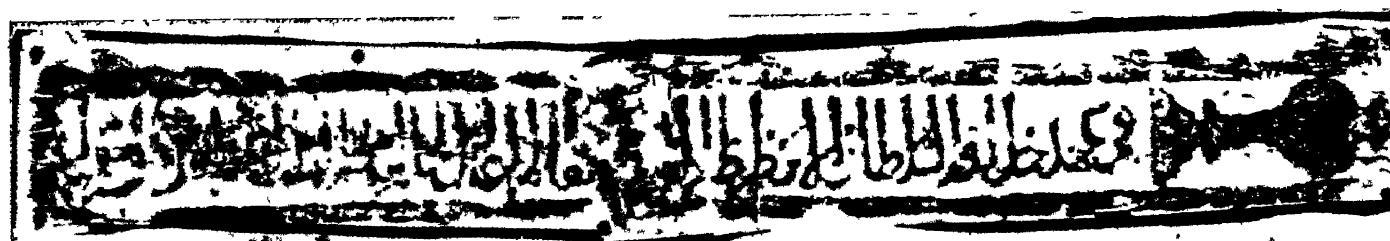
³ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 194.

(a) Fragmentary inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (p. 9)



SCALE .15

(b) Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh's record, dated A.H. 720, from Nagaur (p. 8)



SCALE .146

It will be observed that the date and the name and titles of the king are lost, barring the part of the regal title, Ghiyāth, occurring at the end of the second line, which is preceded by the eulogistic phrase 'one selected by the Lord of the worlds'. The next, i.e. third line begins with a's-Sultān, followed by the phrase invoking perpetuation of the reign. It is reasonable to infer from the last and first words in the preceding and following lines, particularly in the second and third lines, that the lost portion of the text was not much, not more than four or five words at the most would appear to be missing, for example, between Ghiyāth in the second line and a's-Sultān in the third, it could only be 'u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Balban or Tughluq Shāh, or after Maliku'l-Umarā in the third line, there could be only one phrase like 'Maliku'sh Sharq Mālik' or the like, before Firūz in the fourth line. In short, the missing text in the second line related to the titles and name of the king and not to the eulogistic phrase as 'Ghiyāthu'l-Islām wa l-Muślimīn' or the like.

There should, thus, be little doubt that the epigraph was set up in the reign of either of the two Delhi Sultāns, Balban (1266-86) or Tughluq Shāh (1320-25). As stated above, Chaghtāi assigns it to Balban, on the basis of 'the writing and the wording of the inscription'¹. But it is precisely on these very grounds that it may preferably be assigned to Tughluq Shāh. The style of writing is different from that of Balban's inscriptions,² and the text is, it may be remembered, in Persian, and particularly, the titles and designations like Maliku'l-Umarā, pāigāh-i khāṣṣ-i qadīm, Khalafu'l-Mulūk, etc., make its assignment to a later period than Balban's more likely. On the other hand, Balban's inscription from Bari Khatu itself is in Arabic and uses, moreover, his usual honorific titles, which are absent here, and its style of writing is also different.³

The text has been read as under.—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

- (١) بنا حفر و عمارت حوض فیروز ساغر در
- (٢) برگزینه حضرت رب العالمین غیات
- (٣) السلطان حلد الله خلافته نوبت ملک الامرا
- (٤) فیروز محمد شخنبک پابگاه خاص قدیم و مة[طع]
- (٥) کرد خلف الملوك تاج الدولة و الدين
- (٦) فی الخامس ع[شر]

TRANSLATION

- (1) The work of the excavation and the construction of the tank Firūz-Sāghar (i.e. Sāgar) in (the reign of).
- (2) the one selected by the Almighty Lord of the worlds, Ghiyāth
- (3) the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his caliphate (and) during the time of Maliku'l-Umarā

¹ *PIHC*, 8th Session (1945), p. 286

² *EIM*, 1913-14, pls X a & b, XI b, XII, XIII a & b, etc.

³ *EIAFS*, 1966, p. 13, pl. III a,

(4) Firūz, (son of) Muhammad, *shahna-bek* of the Old Royal Stables (*pāigāh-i-khāss-i-qadīm*) and *mugī'* of

(5) was ordered by Khalafu'l-Mulūk (lit. descendant of kings) Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn.

(6) on the fifteenth

The date of the inscription, as stated above, is unfortunately lost. The invocatory phrase refers to the 'caliphate' of the king, a style adopted by Tughluq Shāh's almost immediate predecessor,¹ Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, and son and successor, Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh. This, if at all, may be taken to indicate that the epigraph belongs to the early part of his reign, since in none of his other known inscriptions, his sovereignty is termed as 'caliphate'. If this be the case, the epigraph must have been set up towards the close of A. H. 721 (December 1321) or beginning of the following year.

It is unfortunate that the name and official status of the excavator of the tank are lost. His very title Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn bespeaks of high status. The phrase *khalaſu'l-mulūk* may be reasonably taken to suggest that he came of royal stock. In view of the absence of name, his identification is difficult, much more so since, in the lists of the nobles of the Delhi Sultāns, right from Balban to Tughluq Shāh, we have quite a few officials bearing this title.² And, as we have already seen above (p. 3), one Tāju'd-Dīn had governed Medta (also in Nagaur district) on behalf of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, about two decades earlier.

Likewise, Maliku'l-Umarā Firūz is untraceable. For want of any data, it is difficult to say if he is identical with Firūz, who is mentioned in another record from Nagaur district, dated A. H. 772, as the father of Sipahsālār Muhammad.³ Then, it is not quite clear to what *qadīm* in the phrase *shahna-bek-i-pāigāh-i-khāss-i-qadīm* qualifies *shahna-bek* or *pāigāh-i-khāss*. Very likely, it qualifies the latter term. In that case, he was the chief superintendent of the Old Royal Stables. Again, the name of his *iqtā'* is lost. But it must be Ajmer, since in another inscription from this place of the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh (Inscription No. III), the governor is called the *mugī'* of the *māmūra* of Ajmer.

V. INCOMPLETE INSCRIPTION FROM NAGAUR

The other epigraph of Tughluq Shāh is engraved on a slab of marble, which is built into the southern lower wall of the Fort at Nagaur, referred to above. The inverted tablet just overlooks the Dargāh of Bābā Badr on the Station Road.⁴

This inscription also, like most of those found in the Fort, is incomplete. About half of the text seems to be lost. But the tablet itself, as is apparent from the borders and the surviving text—the text in the first and the second line is continuous—is whole. This can only mean that there was another tablet below the present one in its original place of occurrence. It will be noted that here too, the text starts with the references to the reign of the king, as in the case of the inscription of Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh studied above.

The surviving text only refers to the reign of the king and does not quote anything beyond the name and titles of the king and the prayer for his reign, incidentally, the phrase 'Helper of the

¹ Tughluq Shāh's immediate predecessor was Khusraw Khān, whose reign was very short.

² *Dīwān I'timārī Barāni, Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 24, 126, 174, 240, 379, 424.

³ *E.I.M.*, 1949-50, p. 19.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 343.

Chief of the Faithful' used here is not usually found in his other inscriptions. The text, likewise, contains neither the date and the name of the person who set up the epigraph nor any clue to the object of the record. But from the size, etc., of the present tablet it may be reasonably surmised that it belonged to a monument of some importance and also of sufficient dimensions.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a somewhat better variety than is found in most of the epigraphs of this monarch. It may be pertinent to note here the fact that like that of his Jalor inscription, referred to above, the calligraphy of the record under study is more akin to the inscriptions of, say, the Gujarat region. While it may be too early to generalise about the origin and spread of the calligraphical styles of the mural records in different parts of India, quite a good deal of epigraphical material has come to light in recent times, to point to some kind of relation between different regions as far as the similarity in the styles is concerned. I had, a couple of years back, drawn attention to this fact, while editing some inscriptions from Gujarat and Bihar.¹ A new pattern of this relationship which seems to be emerging from the fresh material that is coming up in recent years, can certainly provide a new subject of research to the students of palaeography of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India.

The inscribed tablet measures 57 by 32 cm., and the two-line text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate III (a)

(۱) فِي نُورِ سُلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ غَيْرِ الدِّينِ وَ [الدِّينِ]
 (۲) أَبُو الْمُطَّهَّرِ تَغْلِقْ سَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ نَاصِرِ الْمُؤْمِنِ خَلَدْ مَلْكَهُ وَ سَلْطَانَهُ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the time of the sovereignty of the great Sultān, Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa['d-Dīn]
- (2) Abu'l-Muzaffar Tughluq Shāh a's-Sultān Nāṣir-i-Amīrī'l-Mū'minīn, may his kingdom and sovereignty last for ever!

Muhammad Bin Tughluq Shāh

This is the fourth inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh to be found in Rajasthan. The three known epigraphs are—one each from Chitorgarh, Hindaun and Nagaur.² Of these, the Nagaur inscription is included in this article and will be studied next.

VI INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 733, FROM BARI KHATU

The sixth epigraph of the article is a new and important record of the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh. It was found at Bari Khatu by Mr. Siddiqi in 1962. The marble tablet on which it is inscribed is broken into three pieces, jointly measuring 90 by 43 cm., which are now lying in the tomb of Hadrat Mahmūd Qattāl, situated on the hill.³

¹ *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

² *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 69, *ibid*, 1957 and 1958, p. 34, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 64, 69.

³ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 198.

Unfortunately, the exact findspot of the tablet is not known. Nor does the text provide any clue to the nature of the building for which it was meant. It simply states that a 'building' was constructed, and this could mean any edifice, including the *dargāh* of the above saint. Nevertheless, lack of information on this count, does not detract from its historical value, as we shall presently see.

The six-line text, which is composed in a curious mixture of Arabic and Persian—not an uncommon feature of the Persian and Arabic inscriptions of India—records that an edifice was raised in A. H. 733 (1333) during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh. It also states that the construction took place during the time of Maliku'l-Umarā Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Nānak Sultānī, the *ākhurbek-i-marsara* and *muqīm* of the region or district (*ma'mūra*) of Ajmer, and the work was carried out by or under the supervision (*kārkard*)¹ of Mu'ayyad, son of Sirāj, son of Fakhr, who was the secretary or accountant (*muhārīr*) of the district. The name Nānak is written without diacritical marks, and hence, its linear form would answer to a couple of more name-forms, but Nānak is, in all probability, the correct form as will be discussed shortly. The official is evidently identical with Malik Nānak Sultānī who held the post of the *ākhurbek-i-marsara* under 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī.

The epigraph is executed in *Naskh* style of the usual type. The writing is slightly damaged. small chips have come out from the edges of the slab at a couple of places, and as a result, a letter or two have been either lost or disfigured.

The text has been deciphered as follows —

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (۲) بَنَاهُ هَذِهِ الْعَمَارَةِ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُعْتَمِدِ مَالِكِ رَقَابِ الْأَمْمِ مَوْلَى مُلُوكِ
 (۳) التُّرْكِ وَ الْعَرَبِ وَ الْعِجمِ طَلَّ اللَّهُ فِي الْعَالَمِ الْمُحَاهَدِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَبُو الْمُطَهَّرِ
 (۴) مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ دَغْلَشَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ حَلْبَ حَلَافَتِهِ نُورُتْ اقْطَاعُ مَلَكِ الْأَمْرَاءِ سَيفُ الدُّولَةِ وَ الدِّينِ

أَخْرَبَكَ مَيْسُورَه

(۵) وَ مَقْطُعُ مُعْمُورَهِ اجْمِيرِ نَانِكَ سَلَطَانِي مَكِّهِ اللَّهِ كَارَ كَرَدَ سَلَهَ [أَمِيَّ] دَوَادَ حَضَرَتِ بَرِودَكَزَ
 (۶) مُوَيَّدُ سَرَاحَ فَحْرُ مُحَمَّدُ مُعْمُورَهِ مَذَكُورُ تَارِيخُ غَرَهُ مَاهِ جَمَادِيِّ الْأَوَّلِ سَنَهُ [ثَلَاثَةُ وَ
 ثَلَاثَيْنِ وَ سَبْعَمَا بَهِ]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

(2) This edifice was raised during the reign of the magnificent Sultān, the lord of the necks of nations, master of the kings of

¹ In Deccan, in official documents and inscriptions, the term *hārkard* usually means time or tenure. But here as elsewhere in northern India, the term seems to indicate charge, supervision, etc. Moreover, here the phrase may be better taken as *kārkard*, meaning 'he carried out the work.'

(a) Incomplete epigraph of Tughluq Shāh from Nagaur (p 11)

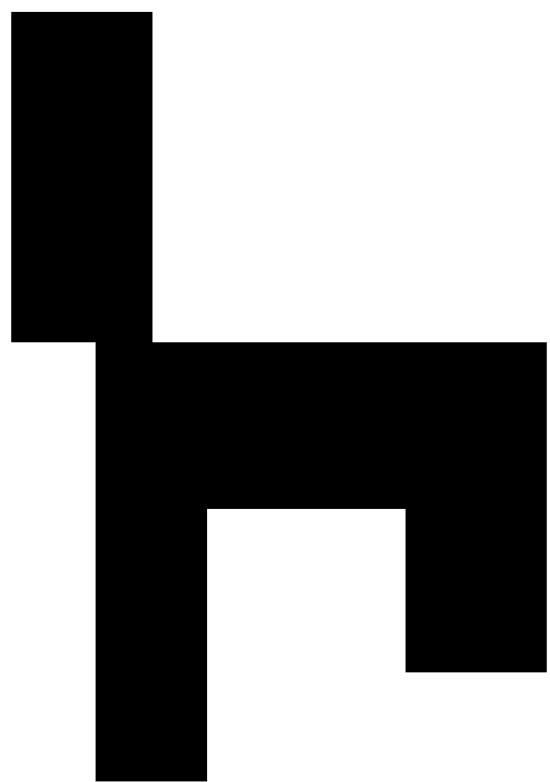


SCALE 16

(b) Inscription, dated A H 733, of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh (p 12)



SCALE 19



(3) the Turks, Arabs and Persians, the shadow of Allāh in the world, the striver in the path of Allāh, Abu'l-Muzaffar

(4) Mu'ammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the Sultān, may his caliphate be perpetuated, during the time of the *iqtā'* of Maliku'l-Umarā Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, the *ākhur bek-i-maisara*

(5) and *mujtū'* of the district (*ma'mūra*) of Ajmer, Nānak Sultānī, may Allāh grant him strength! The work was carried out by the creature, hopeful of the Almighty Nourisher,

(6) Mu'ayyad, (son of) Sirāj, (son of) Fakhr, the secretary or accountant (*muharrir*) of the said *ma'mūra*, on the date, first day of the month of Jumādā I, year (A. H.) three and thirty and seven hundred (1 Jumādā I 733=18 January 1333)

Historically, the above inscription furnishes contemporary evidence of the continuous authority of the Delhi Sultāns over this region in Rajasthan. It adds one more to the very few epigraphs of Muhammād bin Tughluq Shāh found in this part of the country. Its text is also not without interest. The titles used for the Sultān, which were almost as a rule employed in the epigraphs of the Mamlūk kings, were generally omitted in those of their successors, the Khaljis and Tughluq Shāh. But their use here may perhaps be attributed to the influence of the earlier Mamlūk records from Bari Khatu. Then, also worthy of note is the use of the *kunya* 'Abu'l-Muzaffar' for the king, instead of 'Abu'l-Mujāhid', adopted in all his inscriptions and coins known so far¹. It is difficult to account for this departure from the current usage². But it is certainly not that the present record is the earliest inscription of this king wherein this *kunya* was adopted and replaced subsequently by 'Abu'l Mujāhid'³. As against this, the use of the term 'caliphate' for reign is in conformity with the usage of his other inscriptions.⁴

Another important aspect of this record is that it furnishes one important link in the chain of administrative machinery of the state, to wit, the *muharrir* of a district. The post of *muharrir*, so far as I have been able to ascertain, does not find mention in the works on the administration of the Delhi Sultanate.⁵

The exact duties of the office of the *muharrir* are not recorded. The term is generally taken to mean a clerk, a writer, a scribe, an accountant⁶. That the post enjoyed a much higher status is obvious from the fact that it was attached to a district. It may be taken to be equivalent to the secretary's post of our days and might have included accountancy as well. In any case, this Arabic designation was later on changed to the Persian *nawīsanda*, which also must mean more than 'a clerk' the meaning given by Qureshī, or 'a writer assisting the *shiqdār*' as stated by Tripathi⁷.

Even greater importance of this record is that it furnishes new information regarding Malik Nānak. It is strange that an official of his status, who imposed a crushing defeat on the Mongols,

¹ *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp 27, 46, *ibid*, 1935-36, p. 3, *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp 34, 37, 39, 41, etc.

² It may appear as likely that the reason was to avoid repetition of the term *Mujāhid* occurring in the preceding phrase. But this, if at all, cannot be seriously considered a valid reason.

³ For inscriptions with the usual *kunya*, dated prior to or later than our epigraph, see *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp 27, 46 and *ibid*, 1935-36, p 3, *ibid.*, 1939-40, p 25

⁴ *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp 37, 38, 39, etc

⁵ Dr I H Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Karachi, 1958), Dr R P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Allahabad, 1956), etc. The office of *muharrir* also finds mention in two more epigraphs, both of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khalji in one, a *Muharrir* to the *koṭwāl* is mentioned (*EIAPS*, 1964, p. 5), and in the other, a *muharrir* to the district (*ARIE*, 1962 63, p 36 and No D, 59)

⁶ H H Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, etc. (London, 1855), p. 350; F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary* (London, 1957), p 1185

⁷ Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 260, Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 298. Incidentally, the term *nawīsanda* is stated to be synonymous with *patwārī*, a revenue official (*Firishta*, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, vol I, Kanpur, 1884, p. 109)

should have received scant attention of the Historians. According to them, he received the fief of Sunam and Samana on 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khalji's accession, and defeated the Mongol invaders 'Alī and Turtāq in 1305.¹ According to a contemporary foreign writer Wassāf Shīrāzī, he was despatched in 1309 to Telangana, along with Mālik Nāib and Zafar Khān by 'Alā'u'd-Dīn.² Nothing more is known about him or his subsequent career, except that Amīr Khusraw casually speaks of him as being a Hindu.³ Very likely, it was he who saved 'Alā'u'd-Dīn from the murderous attack of his nephew Sulaimān Shāh at Tilpat.⁴

Our inscription thus supplies new information about his titles and extends his career from 1305 or even 1309 to 1333. It cites the titles Mahku'l-Umarā Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, not known from any other source. Then, it also indicates that he held the same post of ākhurbek-i-masara in 1333 under Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh and, also states that he held the iqdā of Ajmer.

But whether this was a continuous charge, it is difficult to say. His name is absent from Barāni's list of the nobles of either Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and even of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh. This is rather surprising. A probable explanation may be that he was out of favour in the reigns of the first two Sultāns. But in any case, he must have held the position some time before 1333, if not continuously after 1309. His official career seems to have come to an end some time in 1333, for in another inscription dated in the same year, from Daulatabad, in Deccan, Mālik Qīrān is mentioned as Malik Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Safdar-Mulk ākhurbek-i-masara.⁵ Mālik Nānak must have relinquished his post and fief some time after 1st Jumādā I 733 (18th January 1333), the date of the present inscription, but before the year A. H. 733 expired on 11th September 1333. Two nobles holding the same rank and title simultaneously is out of question.

It is difficult to determine the reason of this change. It could be either due to death, dismissal or elevation to a higher status. But very probably, it was subsequent upon his death, since he was quite a senior officer by 1333. That is also perhaps why his name is excluded from Barāni's list of the nobles of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh. Since Safdar-Mulk held, for the greater part of that monarch's reign, the post of ākhurbek-i-masara and title Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, Barāni included only him in his list.

A reference has been made above to the lack of uniformity and consequent confusion in the spelling of the name of Mālik Nānak, in historical works, both early and modern. The contemporary writers, Amīr Khusraw and Barāni, the near-contemporary 'Isāmī and subsequent historians of note, Yāḥyā Sarhindī, Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, Badāyūnī, Firīshta and Hājī Dabīr mention him, most of them only once, in connexion with the Mongol invasion, and as is well known, the printed editions of their works are corrupt, particularly in regard to names of places and personalities.

¹ Barāni, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 320, 323, where the name is differently and again wrongly spelt, Amīr Khusraw, Mu'minu'l-Fuṭūb (KF), ed. Dr M. Wahid Mirzā (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 38, 40, introduction, p. 16, and *ibid.*, ed. S. Mo'mu'l-Haq (Aligarh, 1927), p. 41, where too the name is wrongly spelt, 'Isāmī, Futūhū's Salātīn (Agra, 1938), pp. 294-97, is the only one to call him Nānak.

² 'Abdul'īshā al-Wassāf, Taziyatu'l-Amṣār wa Taziyatu'l-Asār, published under the title Wassāf'u'l-Hadrat Nānak as having joined this expedition.

³ Amīr Khusraw, Dārāl Rānī Khidr Khān (Aligarh, 1916), p. 61.

⁴ Barāni, *op. cit.*, p. 273, where the text spells the name differently, Professor S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 96.

⁵ ARKE, 1962-63, No. D, 113.

Taking Amīr Khusraw first, Dr. M. Wahid Mirzā's edition of his Khażānu'l-Futūh has مانک —Mānīk with a variant نایب —Nā'ib¹. In the Aligarh edition of S. Mo'inu'l-Haqī and in the English translation of Professor M. Habib—at whose instance, that edition was prepared and published in 1927—the name is spelt as نایک —Nāyak.² Habib has not tried to discuss the spelling of the name, beyond quoting the statement of an early seventeenth century author about Nāyaks being a tribe of outcaste Rajputs, and stating thereafter that 'be this as it may, the surname 'Nāik' is common enough today'.³ Thus, according to Habib, the official was Malik Nāyak. Dr S. A. A. Rizvi in his Hindi translation of the relevant extracts, retains Mānīk without comment.⁴ Elliot's translated extract does not contain the name.⁵ In short, the three variants of this name as found in the Khażānu'l-Futūh and its English and Hindi translations are مانک —Mānīk, نایک —Nāyak and نایب —Nā'ib.

The other contemporary historian, Barānī, mentions him thrice—the printed edition of his work spells the name نایک —Atābek, in the list of the nobles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, نایک —Nāyak in the account of the Mughal invasion and تاتک —Tātak, in connexion with the grant of the fief.⁶ In one place, one مانک —Mānīk is mentioned as having saved 'Alāu'd-Dīn's life as stated above,⁷ and if he is identical with our official, as is quite likely, that would be the fourth variant.

Unfortunately, none of Barānī's translators, except Major Fuller, has made any effort to establish the spellings of place-names and personalities, which are so incorrectly given in the printed edition of his work.⁸ The history by Elliot and Dowson contains only two of the above four extracts where the name is spelt as مانک —Mānīk and نایک —Nāyak.⁹ Rizvi follows the printed text in three of the four places,¹⁰ and has نایب —Nā'ib instead of نایک —Nāyak in the fourth.¹¹ Fuller, in his translation, instead of مانک —Mānīk and تاتک —Tātak of the printed text, spells the name as نانک —Nānak with a query.¹² But in the third place, translated and added by Mr H. Blochmann, who edited Fuller's translation, the spelling of the printed text was retained.¹³ In short—and this is quite significant—Fuller's manuscript had نانک —Nānak, in both the extracts he translated.

¹ *KF*, p. 38. Wahid Mirzā identifies him with 'Malik Kāfür, called by *Firishta* Malik Nā'ib' (*ibid.*, introduction, p. 16, f. n. 4).

² *KF*, ed. Mo'inu'l Haq, p. 41; M. Habib, *The Campaigns of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khilji* being the Khażānu'l-Futūh (Madras, 1931), p. 26 and f. n. 5 on pp. 28-29.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29, note, where the statement that according to *Firishta*, the commander was 'Malik Mānīk (an obvious misreading for Malik Nāik)' is not to be found in the Nawalkishore edition, which has نایب —Nā'ib (*Firishta*, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

⁴ S. A. A. Rizvi, *Khalji-Lālin Bhāratī*, in Hindi (Aligarh, 1955), p. 158.

⁵ Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, vol. III (London, 1871), p. 72.

⁶ Barānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 320, 323. It was been ascertained through the unfailing help of Prof. S. H. Askari, Jt. Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, that in the Bankipore Public Library manuscript of Barānī's work, the name is twice transcribed quite clearly as Nānak.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁸ For instance, see foot-notes by H. Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, vol. XXXIX (1870), pp. 37-38 and 39-40.

⁹ Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 198.

¹⁰ Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 60, 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹² *JASB*, vol. XXXVIII (1869), p. 212, *ibid.*, vol. XXXIX (1870), p. 48.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 40.

Thus, Barānī's printed text and translations have **نَابِكَ**, **نَابِكَ**, **نَابِكَ** (but in Rizvī who has followed the printed text in the other three places), **نَابِكَ** and (in Fuller's translation) **نَابِكَ**

In the Bombay edition of the work of Wassāf, the non-Indian contemporary, the name is spelt as **نَابِكَ** —Bābak,¹ but in Elliot's translation, the corresponding passage has **نَابِكَ** —Nānak, with a note that the reading is doubtful.²

The near-contemporary 'Isāmī mentions him only in connexion with the Mongol invasion, but he gives more details than both Amīr Khusraw and Barānī do. He describes the event under two sections, in the headings of which, as well as in eight places in the text, the name cited is **نَابِكَ** —Nānak. In both the Agra and Madras editions of 'Isāmī's work, as well as in Rizvī's Hindi translation, the same spelling is found.³ In short, 'Isāmī repeatedly used the name **نَابِكَ** —Nānak and like Wassāf, also adds the *nisba* Hindi

Among the later histories, the printed text of Yahyā Sarhindī's work has **نَابِكَ** —Nā'ib with the variant **نَابِكَ** —Nāyak. In the Navalkishore edition of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad's history, it is spelt **نَابِكَ** —Bābak, while the Calcutta edition has **نَابِكَ**.⁴ The accounts of Badāyūnī and Firīshta are rather confused and incorrect. The former mentions Malik Mānīk as the commander of the Delhi army against the Mongols and identifies him with Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr Hazār-Dinārī.⁵ Firīshta, also wrongly, makes Malik Nā'ib the leader of this expedition.⁶ Lastly, Hājī Dabīr has **نَابِكَ** —Bānakā,⁷ in which the linear form of either **نَابِكَ** —Bānak, **نَابِكَ** —Nānak, **نَابِكَ** —Bābak or **نَابِكَ** —Nāyak is obtained, if the terminal *alif* is removed.

It will thus be seen that the majority of the variants preclude the possibility of the name being either **نَابِكَ** —Mānīk or **نَابِكَ** —Nā'ib. This is also conclusively proved by our record, where neither the initial letter is **م** —*m* nor the terminal one **ب** —*b*; it is very unfortunate that the name is inscribed without diacritical marks, depriving us of undisputed evidence for the correct spelling of the name. Thus, the variants point to the linear form answering to any of these three names —Bābak, —Nāyak and —Nānak, since the names **نَابِكَ** and **نَابِكَ** (which, if the initial *alif* is removed, would read as **نَابِكَ**) can be easily discarded as very unlikely, if not quite impossible.

Now which of the above three names was actually borne by the Ākhurbek-i-Maisara?⁸ The modern writers are inclined to call him Malik Nāyak only. For example, Dr S Roy, the latest to write on the subject, prefers Malik Nāyak or Mānīk. His argument for this, at least inasmuch as it provides an unfortunate example of confused and inconclusive thinking, and has not even the merit of originality, may be reproduced here. Roy says 'Barānī, p 320, has Nāyak; Amīr Khusraw, Khazāin-ul-Futūh, p. 38, Mānīk 'Isāmī, p 301-2, Nānak. The name was either Nāyak

¹ Wassāf, *op. cit.*, p. 527

² Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and f. n. 1.

³ 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*, pp 294, 295, 296, 297, Rizvī, *op. cit.*, pp 203-04

⁴ Yahyā Sarhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 73, Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Tabqāt-i-Akkārī* (Lucknow, 1873), p. 80; *ibid.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 162

⁵ Badāyūnī, *Muwaṭṭat-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868) pp 185-86

⁶ Firīshta, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁷ Hājī Dabīr, *Zafar-i-Wālik b. Muzaffar wa-Ālikh*, vol. II (London, 1928), p. 815

or Mānik and the leader of the campaign was a Hindu as Khusrav states in the 'Ashīqa, p. 61. He is possibly the Mānik who saved 'Alā-ud-dīn from Ākat Khān's assault referred to by Barānī, p. 273. According to Firishta, Malik Nāib and Ghāzī Malik Tughluq were leaders of the campaign.¹

The above statement which needs no further comments, may be compared with what Dr. K. S. Lāl, has stated in his history of the Khaljis, written almost a decade earlier. Khusrav says that Malik Naik was a Hindu. Barānī also names the commander as Malik Naik 'Isāmī incorrectly reads Malik Nanak. 'Alāuddīn had a *parīk* Manik by name who had saved him at the time of Ikat Khan's assault (Barānī, p. 273). But the general who fought the Mughals was surely Malik Nāib as mentioned by two contemporary authorities Barānī and Khusrav. Ferishtah says that Malik Naib and Malik Tughlaq were sent.²

It is surprising that Lāl too has not taken into account the glaring misprints in the printed works of Barānī and others. He does not even seem to have consulted the original text, leave alone a manuscript, of Amir Khusrav's Khazā'in. Otherwise, as we have already seen above, where do Barānī and Khusrav, the two contemporary authorities, mention him beyond any confusion, as Malik Nāyak? The printed edition of Barānī's work has Nāyak only in one place and three different spellings in the remaining places where he is mentioned, and that of Khusrav does not have Nāyak at all. Lāl has only consulted the translation of Habib, who, as stated above, has arbitrarily adopted the form Nāyak. Then, secondly, Lāl has not cared to explain, leave alone prove, how is 'Isāmī incorrect. As a matter of fact, both the Madras and Agra editions of his work have Nānak in not less than ten places.

It appears that neither Lāl nor Roy saw the pertinent note of Professor S. H. Hodiwālā, who, having revised his earlier note (in which he had accepted the spelling Nāyak), after 'Isāmī's Futūh was published, stated that 'as he is repeatedly called Nānak Hindi Ākhurbek-i-Maisara, in the Futūh's-Salāṭīn also (pp. 294-95; verses 5649, 5659, 5669), Nānak seems to be correct and may have been his old Hindu name.'³

To me also, the name appears to be Nānak only. On the face of it, Nāyak as a proper name is quite unlikely, and the use of a surname or caste along with the official designation Malik, particularly without the definite article used before it, is almost improbable. Moreover, in the metrical work of 'Isāmī, who elsewhere uses the word Nāyak in its original sense indicating a surname or status,⁴ its use as a proper name, without even Malik, is quite unlikely. Therefore, the name should either be بابک تاٹک or نانک. But since the official was Indian (Hindi) as well as a Hindu, the name could only be نانک — Nānak.⁵

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 733, FROM NAGAUR

This inscription is from a beautifully carved lofty gateway, called Baland-Darwāza, leading to the enclosure⁶ containing the tomb of the famous thirteenth century saint Hadrat

¹ Dr. R. C. Majumdar, ed. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 29, 50 (f. n. 23).

² Lāl, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69, f. n. 66.

³ Hodiwālā, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. xiv. Amir Khusrav, as stated above, categorically mentions his religion.

⁴ 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 514, line 10031.

⁵ Incidentally, one Thakkur Nānak finds mention in the Daulatabad inscription of Tughluq Shāh, dated A. H. 721 (*ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 43).

⁶ It would not be correct to say that it stands in the middle of the enclosure (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 69). The impression is given by the fact that the enclosure wall has fallen and there are graves outside too.

Hamidu'd-Din Suwālī Sūfī Nāgaurī, commonly known as Sultānu't-Tārikīn.¹ The Dargāh of Sūfī Sāhib, as the tomb is popularly known, is situated outside the Maya gate of Nagaun and seems to have been originally fenced off by imposing four walls of stone masonry having a rounded tower at each corner; two of these in line of the gateway may still be seen in partial ruins. The gateway is also known as Atārkīn-kā-Darwāza, after the saint's title. This impressive structure, which is remarkable for its elaborate carving occupying its whole surface, is about 16 metres high. Two three-storeyed square towers, comprising four-sided balconied kiosks marked by crenellations and each surmounted by a dome, and built against the corners of the southern facade, add dignity to the whole building.²

On the top of this gateway, into the inside face of the wall, immediately above the floor-level of the last but one landing between two side-stairs, is built up a long rectangular red sandstone slab which contains the record under study.³ Garrick, who was the first to describe its contents, assigned it to the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh, but quoted A.H. 630 as its date and also held the erroneous view that the gateway was only *repaired* by the king.⁴ He also cited the local tradition attributing the commencement of the edifice to the saint himself and its completion to his heir Khwāja Husain Chishtī⁵ under the guidance of the architect Shaikh 'Abdul.

The text of the record runs into six couplets, of which the first is Arabic and the rest are Persian. It purports that the Dāru'l-Karāmāt (lit. Abode of Miracles), the tomb of Shaikhul-Islām, the Shaikh among the *abdāls* (second in the hierarchy of saints),⁶ was constructed in the middle (i.e. 15th) of the month of Sha'bān 733 (1st May 1333), by the order of the reigning king, Muhammad, son of Tughluq Shāh. Thus, the tomb of the saint was built and not repaired by the order of the Sultān, as Mr Garrick was informed. Also, its date is A.H. 733 and not A.H. 630 or A.H. 633⁷ when incidentally, the ruling king was Iltutmish.

A point that may be noted here is that the inscription does not make any reference to the gateway itself. It is difficult to say if that is because the gateway was supposed to be part of the tomb and as such, was not separately mentioned. Incidentally, hagiographical works state that the four-wall enclosure of the tomb was built by the Sultān, and the gateway by Makhdūm Husain Nāgaurī.⁸ But though the inscribed tablet fits in completely with the masonry and gives the impression of being a homogeneous part of the wall, it is extremely doubtful if the inscription was intended to record the construction of the gateway as well. Not only this slab is of red sandstone and the remaining masonry, of yellow sandstone, but—and this is very important—the construction of the gateway, on architectural grounds, must have taken place at least a century or so earlier, for the arches of the gateway and the squinches of its domed hall are built in

¹ Mir Khurd, *Siyarul-Auliyā* (Delhi, 1876), p. 156, quotes his full name as ' Shaikhul-Islām Hamidu'd-Din Suwālī Abī 'Alīm a's-Sāidi a's-Sūfī'.

² A detailed description of the gateway will be found in Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 69-71, pl. XIV and ARASI, 1921-22, p. 73.

³ ARJS, 1961-62, No. D, 245.

⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 69, but on p. 64, the date quoted is A.H. 633.

⁵ Here, evidently Makhdūm Husain Nāgaurī, to whom a reference has been made above, is intended. He was a descendant of the saint and himself a man of great piety and religiosity. He died in A.H. 901 (1495-96). This local belief seems to owe its origin to a statement of the seventeenth century author and scholar 'Abdul'l-Haq (*op. cit.*, p. 183).

⁶ In Sufi hagiocracy, they are second in rank to *qub* and represent seventy persons, by whom God continues the world in existence. When one dies, his place is filled up by some one selected from the lower order.

⁷ Evidently, the misreading of this word as Abdul gave rise to the fictitious identity of the architect Shaikh 'Abdal.

⁸ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 64, 69.

⁹ 'Abda'l-Haq, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

(a) Fragmentary record of Muhammad Shāh, Bari Khātu (p. 20)



SCALE 29

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A H 733, from Nagaur (p. 19)



SCALE 1

corbel style and not according to the true scientific principles, which had already come into vogue more than three decades earlier¹ Its having been built by Makhdūm Husain Nāgaurī in the late fifteenth century is out of question.

It is indeed a pity that the record does not contain further details. For example, no mention is made of the *mugī* of the region, or the local official. It is also not stated if Nagaur was included in the Ajmer province, as Bari Khatu, about 60 kilometres to the east, was, as we have just seen above. Strangely enough, the text does not cite the name of the saint too. He was, as is well known, a disciple of the great Khwāja Mu'inu'd-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, renowned alike for piety and scholarship, and endowed with literary talent. He died, according to one account, in A H 673 (1274) and according to another, in A H 659 (1259).²

Though, the text in itself neither conforms nor rejects the identity of the saint, there should be little doubt about it. It calls him the Shaikh of the *abdāls* and Shaikhul-Islām,³ and designates his tomb as 'Abode of Miracles'. The very fact that the tomb was ordered to be built by Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh points to the saint's greatness.

Not much significance may perhaps be attached to the wish expressed in the fourth couplet that the king might not have any rebel or denier. If at all, it may only indicate that the composer did take notice of the rebellions that had started troubling the Sultān.⁴

The two-line text is engraved in relief. The long tablet which measures 2 47 m. by 40 cm., seems to have developed cracks, as indicated by the cementing in two or three places affecting the letters. The style of writing is usual *Naskh*.

The text has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate IV(b)

كأنها روضة من روضة الجنات	دار مكرمة دار الكرامات
بنا اين روضة دار الكرامات	مقامى معتبر خير المقامات
بامر يادشاه عهد و دوران	محمد ابن تغلق شاه سلطان
(٢) نصاب عدل و احسان بوالمجاهد	مباداكس ورا باغى و [جا] حد
بنصف ماه شعبان شد باتمام	بناء روضة اين شیخ الاسلام
ز هجرت هقصد و می وسی بد مال	بنا شد روضة اين شیخ الابدال

TRANSLATION

(1) The *Dāru'l-Karāmāt* (lit. Abode of Miracles) is the greatly venerated abode. It is as if a garden from the garden(s) of Paradise

¹ Cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pl. XIV.

² Some particulars of his life and beliefs will be found in Amir Hasan, *Fawādu'l-Fawād* (Delhi, A. H. 1312), pp. 3, 70, 206, Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-64; *Adhkār-i-Abhrār*, Urdu translation of Hasan Ghauthī's *Gulzār-i-Abhrār* (Agra, 1909), pp. 63-65 (who also cites a Persian quatrain of the saint); 'Abdu'l-Haq, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-37, Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Asfiyā* (Kanpur, 1902), pp. 303-09.

³ Cf. Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁴ For the rebellions, see Dr A. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), chapter VIII.

⁵ Thus on the stone

The construction of this tomb (called) *Dāru'l-Karāmāt*, a much respected and the best of abodes, (took place) by the order of the sovereign of the time and age, Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh, the Sultān,

(2) the origin of justice and benevolence, (A)bu'l-Mujāhid. May none turn a rebel against or denier, of him !

The edifice of the tomb of this *Shaikhul-Islām* was completed in the middle (i.e. 15th day) of the month of *Sha'bān*

From the Migration, the year was seven hundred and thirty and three (when), the tomb of this *Shaikh* among the Abdāls was constructed (15 *Sha'bān* 733=1 May 1333).

VIII FRAGMENTARY RECORD FROM BARI KHATU

A small inscribed fragment of marble measuring 21 by 14 cm was found by Mr. Siddiqi in the mosque in the Mahalla-Sayyidān—same as the one in which inscription No I was found—at Bari Khatu¹. The incomplete two-line text merely comprises part of the honorific title and name of the Sultān in the first line and part of the titles of another person, presumably an official, in the second. From the name of the Sultān, viz. Muḥammad, followed by the word *bin* (i.e. son of) and the honorific title '(Striver) in the path of Allāh' as well as from the calligraphy, the identity of the king is established beyond doubt

The style of writing is *Naskh*. The extant text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV(a)

..... [ف] سَيِّلَ اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ (۱)
..... مَحَاجِرُ الدُّولَةِ وَ الدِّينِ (۲)

TRANSLATION

(1) (striver in) the path of Allāh, Muḥammad, son of.
(2) u'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn.

It is not possible to determine the name of the official from the extant writing. The first two letters of the phrase indicating the name are م—m and ح—h, or ح—h, and since there is not much space between these and the letters that immediately follow, the titular phrase could be either مَحَاجِرُ الدُّولَةِ or مَحَاجِرُ الدِّينِ. Could it be the latter? Muṣīru'd-Dīn Abū Rajā was a prominent official.² If so, the epigraph would indicate that Khatu or Ajmer was under his charge, prior to his posting at Bayana, a piece of information not met with in any historical work.

Firūz Shāh

The last three inscriptions of this study are of the time of Firūz Shāh (1351-88). They are to be found at as far off places as Chatsu in Jaipur District, Mandor in Jodhpur district and

¹ *AEI*, 1962-63, No. D, 204. It does not seem to have come to Chāghtāi's notice.

² Barāni, *op. cit.*, p. 472; 'Iqāmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 358, 388, 413, 453, Ibn Battūṭa, *The Rihla*, Eng. tr. A. Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1953), pp. 61, 95, 152; etc.

Bayana. All the three are fragmentary, and two of them, undated. Nevertheless, their importance lies in determining the period and extent of the Tughluq rule in various parts of Rajasthan. It may be recalled here that of Firūz's four known inscriptions from Rajasthan, three were found in Nagaur district and one in Jaipur district.¹

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 783, FROM CHATSU

Chatsu or Chaksu as it is also called, is a *tahsil* town, about 40 kilometres to the south-east of the district headquarters Jaipur. It is an ancient town, but unfortunately, no old remains have survived in or about, except those of a few tanks.² Its most notable Muslim remain is the Chhatri of Gurg 'Ali Shāh (died 1568-69), which bears two inscriptions, one recording the date of his martyrdom, and the other, a visitor's memento engraved by the famous Mir Muhammād Ma'sūm of Akbar's period.³

Both A. C. L. Carlleyle and D. R. Bhandarkar who visited Chatsu in 1871-72 and 1909-10 respectively,⁴ had overlooked this inscription. It was first found by Rāī Bahādur Dayā Rām Sāhni, then Director of Archaeology and Historical Research, Jaipur State, who was, however, unable to give any details except the date and the occurrence of the name of Chatsu pargana.⁵

It is not exactly known when Chatsu first came to be occupied by the Muslims, but it may have, at an early date. That the region around Chatsu was occupied by the Tughluqs is testified by the present record, dated 1381. Bābur mentions it among his possessions in India.⁶ But some time before the sixteenth century, the Kachhwāhas appear to have gained control: They ruled, first from Amber near Jaipur and later on from Jaipur, either independently or as vassals of the Mughal rulers and of the British.

The loose fragmentary tablet on which this four-line epigraph is inscribed is lying in the Nil-garon ki-Masjid in the town.⁷ Measuring 54 by 31 cm, it seems to be a complete unit as there appears to be a border on the left. If so, it would mean that another same-sized slab which contained the remaining text is missing. Be as it may, considerable text is lost, and the full purport cannot be made out. But even whatever has survived is not without interest. The extant text does not contain the name of the king, but it refers to his reign, and since the date A.H. 783 (1381) is fortunately preserved, the king is none other than Firūz Shāh Tughluq.

The epigraph mentions the Bāzār-i-Khāss (Main Market). The phrase 'is set up (in the) Main Market' occurring in the third line, must refer to the setting up of the inscription there, and this would mean that the text might have contained some sort of instructions, a royal order or a decision perhaps, notified for general information. Also, the place-name is spelt in the record as Chātsū with *t*, which may be noted. Then, Chātsū is called a *pargana*, which shows that the town was already a *pargana* headquarters in old days. In short, the record indicates that Chatsu was a town of sufficient importance.

¹ *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 19, 20, *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 57.

² For an account of the town and its remains, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. VI (Calcutta, 1878), pp. 116-20 (account by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle), *PRWC*, 1909-10, pp. 49-50; *ARASI*, 1927-28, p. 147, Dayā Rām Sāhni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, pp. 5-8.

³ *EIM*, 1923-24, pp. 21, 23. The chronogram for the death of Gurg 'Ali Shāh is doubtfully read and worked out to yield A. H. 860 (*ibid.*, p. 23), but the inscription is in Nasta'liq and according to my reading of the chronogram, the date of death would be A. H. 976 (1568-69). *ARASI*, 1925-26, p. 128, gives A. H. 979.

⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 116-20, *PRWC*, 1909-10, pp. 49-50.

⁵ Sāhni, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁶ A. S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-Nāma in English* (Memoirs of Bābur) (London, 1921), p. 521.

⁷ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 138.

The text refers to a freed slave ('*atīq*) of Khwāja Jahān. The latter can be none other than the well-known Prime Minister of Fīrūz Shāh. As to the former, it may be inferred from the phrase 'on behalf of the Maliku'sh-Shārq' that he was in charge of the *pargana*. And most probably, the Maliku'sh-Shārq, whose name is lost, was some one other than the Khwāja Jahān. The first line of the text 'by his special (i.e. personal) attention, the humble creature hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher' may be taken to convey that the said subordinate had ordered to undertake some work of public good, provided of course, the record begins with this sentence only, as is very likely the case. But if some portion of the text is missing in the beginning, the phrase would mean that he acted under orders of his master

Thus, our inscription, fragmentary as it is, is quite interesting, and therefore, it is regrettable that it is incomplete. Palaeographically too, it is of sufficient importance. Executed in conventional *Naskh*, it gives an overall impression of being slightly inelegant, but that is due to the somewhat uneven alignment and spacing of letters. Otherwise, the calligraphy is of sufficient artistic merit, and in particular, the execution of the letter *d*—*d* jointed to a preceding letter, in several places in lines 1 and 4 recall to mind the much more developed and finer calligraphy of the *Tughluq* inscriptions of Bihar.¹

The text which is in Persian, reads as under —

TEXT

Plate V(c)

(۱) بتوجه خاصه خود بنده ضعیف امیدوار برحمت پروردگار.....
 (۲) پرگنه چاسو عتیق خواجه جهان که از جهت ملک الشرق.....
 (۳) بازار خاص نصب است در عهد خداوند عالمپناه.....
 (۴) بتاریخ دوم ماه محرم سنه ثلث و همانین و سبعماهیه.....

TRANSLATION

- (1) The weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, by his personal attention.....
- (2) *pargana* of Chātsū, the freed slave ('*atīq*) of Khwāja Jahān, who on behalf of Maliku'sh-Shārq.....
- (3) is fixed up in the Bāzār-i-Khāss (Main Market), in the reign of the Lord, shelter of the world.....
- (4) on the second day of the month of Muharram, year (A.H.) three and eighty and seven hundred (2 Muharram 783=29 March 1381).

X. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM MANDOR

The tenth inscription, from Mandor, in the Jodhpur district, published here for the first time, was copied by me in 1953, from the mosque locally called Shāhi-Masjid or Royal mosque,² perhaps

¹ *E.I.*, 1951, Pla. VIII, IX.

² *E.I.*, 1953-54, No. D, 155. *Iaf.*, op. cit., p. 44, f n. 16, refers to the existence of the inscription but does not give any report.

(a) Incomplete inscription of Firūz Shah, from Bawana (p 24)



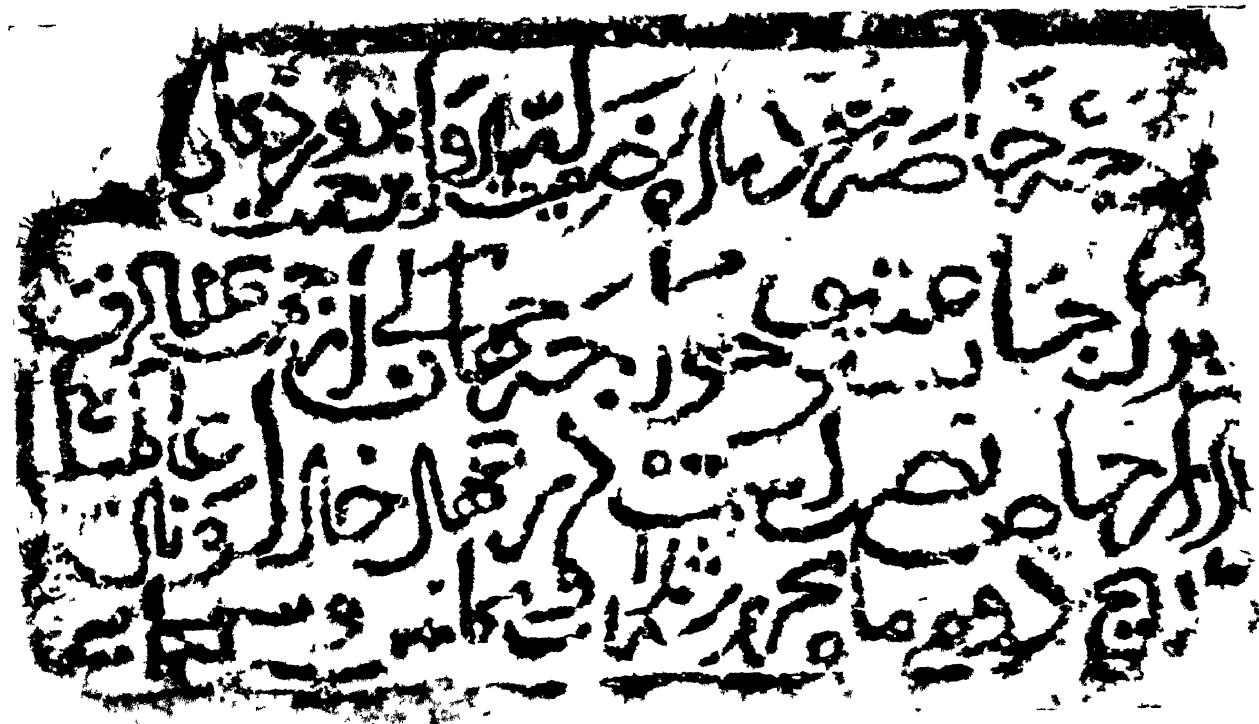
SCALE 21

(b) Another fragmentary record of the same king, from Mandor (p 23)



SCALE . 125

(c) Another record of the same ruler, dated A H 783, from Chatsu (p 22)



SCALE .26

the same as the mosque of Ghulām Khān of Garrick¹. A building of no merit, it is probably on account of the present record that it is known by this name.

This epigraph is a mere fragment. The extant two-line text in Persian refers to the construction of a mosque in the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh. Other details including the date are lost. But on palaeographical grounds, the epigraph has to be assigned to the Tughluq king and not to the founder of the Khaljī dynasty who conquered Mandor in 1292.²

Mandor was the capital of the Rāthor chiefs till 1459, when Jodhpur city was founded a few kilometres to the south. It is a place of considerable antiquity. The old fort, a hall of sixteen colossal hero-figures hewn out of a single natural rock and richly sculptured stone cenotaphs and chhatri, also remarkable for their carving, are among its chief archaeological remains.³

The early history of Mandor during the Muslim period is not very clear. It was conquered in 1226-27 by Iltutmish. In 1242, along with Ajmer and Nagaur, it was conferred on Malik 'Izzu'd-Din Balban, and must have also been included in the fief of Ulugh Khān, later on Sultān Balban, who had succeeded Malik 'Izzu'd-Din. It must have relapsed to the Hindu authority some time before the rule of Jalālu'd-Din Khaljī who conquered it again in about 1292. After that, the authority of his successor 'Alā'u'd-Din had extended to Jaler and Siwana about 100 kilometres to the south-west.⁴ One Malik Dā'ūd was the governor of Jaler under Firūz Tughluq himself.⁵ The traditional account that right from about 1212, Mandor was the capital of the Parihār chiefs, from whom it was wrested in 1381 by Rao Chonda,⁶ is disproved by the above, as well as by the present inscription of Firūz Tughluq (1351-88). The place, like Chatsu and other places in Rajasthan, must have relapsed to the Rajput authority some time during the period of the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate after the Tughluqs, if not still later.

The inscriptional slab, measuring 62 by 40 cm in its present condition, is built up into the west wall of the said mosque and contains a two-line text, inscribed in *Naskh* of no particular merit, which has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate V(b)

(۱) بناء این مسجد در نویت دولت.....

٢) فيروز شاه السلطان

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque, in the time of the government of
(2) Firuz Shâh, the Sultân.

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol XXIII, p 77.

² Lâl, *op. cit.*, p. 38

³ For the history of Mandor and detailed description of its remains, including a few Muslim buildings, see B. N. Reu, *Märwād-kā-Itihās*, in Hindi, vol. I (Jodhpur, 1938), pp. 8-10, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 73-85; Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-98, *ARASI*, 1905-06, pp. 135-40; *ibid.*, 1909-10, pp. 93-103, *PRWC*, 1906-07, pp. 31-33, *ibid.*, 1907-08, p. 29, etc. There is a small booklet entitled *Mandor*, giving an account of the buildings etc., about whose author or place and year of publication, no information is available. A paper entitled, 'History of Mandor', was read by Dr. K. C. Jain before the 22nd Session of the Indian History Congress held in 1959 at Gauhati.

⁴ *Minhāj*, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 106, *Reu*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

⁵ Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

⁸ Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

XI. FRAGMENTARY RECORD FROM BAYANA

The last record of this study was found in 1955 by me at Bayana, a sub-divisional headquarters in Bharatpur district¹. The fragmentary sandstone slab, measuring 24 by 14 cm., was recovered from the debris lying to the west of a mosque behind the 'Idgāh, outside the town².

Bayana was connected with the Muslim rule from its very inception. Its importance may be judged from the fact that it was usually conferred in fief upon nobles of great rank, the first in recorded history being Malik Bahā'u-d-Dīn Tughrīl, the most trusted lieutenant of Muhammad bin Sām. Among its subsequent governors were Nusratu'd-Dīn Tābīsī (1235), Qarāqash Khān (1242), Arsalān Khān and Nuṣrat Khān (c. 1242-56), Qutlugh Khān (1252) and Sher Khān, a cousin of Balban (1259).³ Under the Khaljis, we only get the name of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn's brother Ulugh Khān as the governor⁴ and under the Tughluqs, those of Malik Muzaffar and Malik Mujīr Abū Rājā.⁵

Naturally, therefore, the place had a considerable number of early buildings and numerous inscriptions, of which unfortunately no exhaustive survey seems to have been made earlier. When I visited the place in 1955, I did not come across any pre-Mughal inscription with the exception of a couple of epitaphs, one of which I have identified with that of Auḥad Khān, founder of the Auḥadī line of Bayana chiefs.⁶ No trace remains even of those Khalji inscriptions, which were fortunately published in a previous issue of this Series.⁷ These epigraphical remains met with destruction about two decades ago, along with the buildings, particularly mosques, on which they were set up. Those that have fortunately survived include a few records of the time of the Auḥadīs, the Sūrs and the Mughals, mostly appearing on secular buildings at Bayana and the Bijayamandirgarh fort nearby.⁸

Mainly from this point of view, the record may be considered important. It is the only known Tughluq record from Bayana, though on the nearby fort, a later inscription of Mahmūd Shah Tughluq, as already stated above, is reported.⁹ But for this, the present fragment of the surviving text contains merely the name of the king and his *kunya*.

The style of writing is *Naskh*.

TEXT

Plate V(a)

..... ابو المظفر فیر [ور تهاء]

TRANSLATION

..... Abu'l-Muzaffar Fir[ūz Shāh]

¹ For the history, buildings and inscriptions of Bayana and nearby Bijayamandirgarh, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 40-73; *ibid.* vol. XX, pp. 60-88, *ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 64, *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 20, 39, 42, *ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 113-25, *ELAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 60-61. A paper on the history of Bayana was read by Dr. K. C. Jain before the All India Oriental Conference held at Bhubaneswar in 1959.

² *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 119. It was then removed to the P.W.D. Inspection Bungalow near the Railway Station.

³ *Mukāj*, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 123, 143, 152, 164, 171, 174, 206

⁴ *Bāzī*, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁵ *Al-Baghdādī*, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶ *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 61.

⁷ *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 20, 39, 42

⁸ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 113-25.

⁹ *ARIE*, 1963-64 No. D, 309; *Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Muslim Monuments in the Northern Circles of the Archaeological Survey of India, Agra*, for the year ending 31st March, 1912 (Allahabad, 1912), p. 68,

LODI AND SUR INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

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It is regrettable that the Afghan rule which forms an important epoch in the history of medieval India has not been properly recorded by the contemporary historians. Our knowledge of the Lodis and Surs is based almost entirely either on the Mughal histories or on the works of Afghan authors, which were compiled during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. In this perspective, any contemporary document, however fragmentary, is a valuable record for the history of the period. It is, therefore, a little gratifying that some epigraphical records of these dynasties have survived till this day.

In this article, I have taken up for study eleven such inscriptions. These epigraphs are interesting records from historical point of view, since they furnish information, particularly about personages which is not known from any other source and also yield valuable data about the monuments on which they are found. Some of these records were noticed previously, but their texts were copied, almost in all cases, without any critical acumen, and no historical description or notes regarding the personages were given.

For obvious reasons, the study of these epigraphs has been taken up region-wise - the first part deals with those from Bihar and the other, with those of Uttar Pradesh. I am thankful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for the help I have received from him in preparing the article in its present form.

Bihar

The history of Bihar during the last quarter of the fifteenth century is represented by the final phase of the Sharqi-Lodi struggle for territorial supremacy over the region. And though at the turn of the century, Sikandar Lodi succeeded in annexing Bihar or a part thereof to the Delhi kingdom, the political status of the province was yet somewhat complicated - different parts were under the suzerainty, at one time or the other, or alternatively, of the Lodis and the Bengal Sultans.¹ This phase also witnessed the rise of the Afghan confederacy in eastern India, the Nuhanis being the first to establish their authority which extended from Bihar in the east to Sambhal in the west.² In short, for about fifty years (1522-1574), the various Afghan tribes, namely Nuhanis, Karranis, Ishturanis and Surs, held sway over a large part of Bihar, successfully defying the Sultans of Bengal as well as of Delhi.

Babur invaded Bihar in May 1529, but having realised the superior strength of Nusrat Shah of Bengal, he was obliged to retreat after entering into an agreement.³ After Babur's death, disorder prevailed in the province, and taking advantage of this, Farid, entitled Sher Khan, the leader

¹ For inscriptions of the Bengal Sultans in Bihar, please see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 35-44. The Sharqi records from Bihar have been studied by me in *ibid*, 1962, pp. 41-52.

² R. R. Diwakar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 395.

³ Babur, *Memoirs of Babur*, ed. L. W. King, Vol. II (Oxford, 1921), p. 406; Professor S. H. Askari, 'Bihar in the time of Babur and Humayun', *Current Studies* (Patna College Magazine), 1957, p. 4, *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 45.

of the Sūrs and a protege of the Nūhānis, supplanted his rivals and ultimately established an all-India empire in A. H. 946 (1539). Henceforth, Bihar remained under the effective control of the Sūrs, until it was finally subjugated by Akbar in A. H. 983 (1575).¹

No Lodi monument of any architectural value has survived in the province, but we have one epigraph of Sikandar Lodi. On the other hand, there are quite a few buildings and inscriptions of the Sūr period, which is not surprising.² Three of the four Bihar epigraphs studied in the following lines belong to Sher Shāh, they include one set up during his pre-kingship period.

Lodi

I. INSCRIPTION OF SIKANDAR LODI, DATED A. H. 901

The first inscription is quite interesting in that it contains useful, though scanty data, on the Lodi conquest of the province. The tablet on which it is inscribed measures 94 by 30 cm. and is built up in the northern wall of the four-wall enclosure marking the Dargāh of Shāh Fadlu'llāh Gosā'in in the Dāira-Mahalla of Bihar Sharif in Patna district. It was Professor S. H. 'Askari of Patna College and now Honorary Joint Director, K P Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, who discovered it first and brought it to the notice of Dr Desai, having accompanied him to the place in January 1956. After removing the thick coating of whitewash the record was copied, deciphered and found to be that of Sikandar Lodi.³ The tablet is unfortunately badly damaged with the result that the text is not quite legible in parts. But it was more or less completely deciphered by Dr. Desai subsequently, and I have utilised his reading here.

Evidently not *in situ*, the epigraph refers to the conquest of Bihar in A. H. 901 (1496), by Sikandar Lodi and records the construction of 'an eastern gate' by Hājī Khān at the instance of the Bihar governor Daryā Khān Nūhānī, who is mentioned as the 'minister of the kingdom' immediately thereafter. It is not clear from the text of what building the eastern gate formed part. Very likely, it was the city-wall, since the text indicates that the construction took place on the last day of the month in which Bihar was conquered. Therefore, it is more than probable that the city-walls were repaired immediately after the event.

The record comprises four verses in Persian of mediocre quality. The style of writing, likewise, is an inelegant, if not crude, form of *Naskh*. This feature is also seen in the other epigraphs of this period in the State, and it is indeed a matter of surprise that in Bihar, the calligraphical style that had reached such a high level of excellence in the mural records of the Tughluq period should have deteriorated to this extent.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate VI (c)

(۱) شاهزاد علم آرا شد آماق دین پرورد
نسب مایق حسب درایق جهانلار است اسکندر
بیهار آمد نعمت او ز فتحل آیند پیشکه اختر
ششم ماه اصم بود است بکی و نهضت از هجرت

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ālībār Nāma* vol. III (Lucknow, 1867), pp. 27-30.

² Some Sūr inscriptions of Bihar were published in *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica (EIM)*, 1923-24, pp. 26-29.

³ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1955-56, No. D, 78; 'Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of the two Lodi Sultans of Delhi', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XLI (1955), part 3, p. 7,

LODĪ AND SŪR INSCRIPTIONS

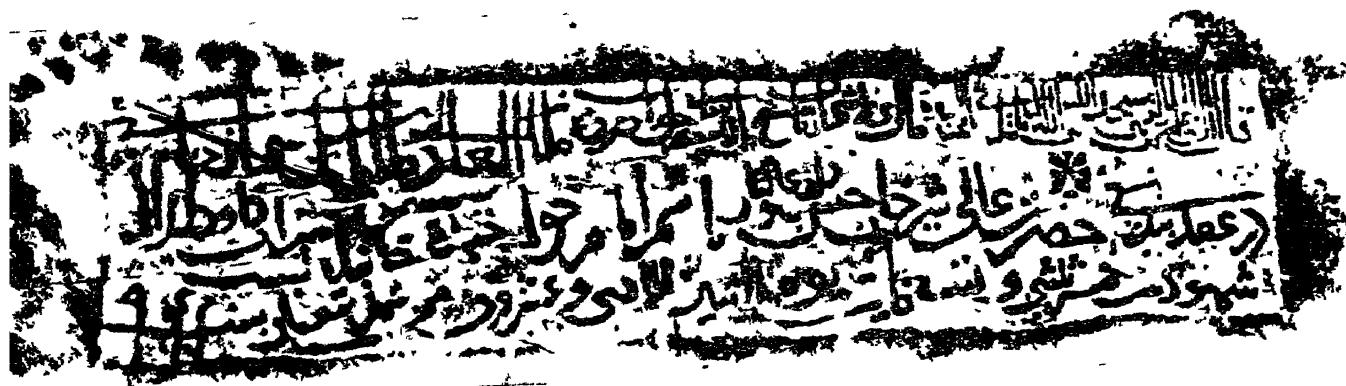
(PLATES VI-X)

(a) Sūr inscription, dated A H 946, from Jana (p 30)



SCALE .18

(b) Another Sūr inscription, dated A H 942, from Amthua (p 29)



SCALE 27

(c) Inscription of Sikandar Lodi, dated A H 901, from Bihar Sharif (p 26)



SCALE : 2

(۲) بتاریخ سلح (۹) ران پس نامر و حکم اشرف کو وزیر ملک دین آداء دریا خان فریدون فر
موسی کرد حاجیخان در سرق کنو یارب سپهور ملک و ملک دا ز بوجانی بود مجدد

TRANSLATION

(1) The emperor who adorns the standard (of kingship), the king of the horizons (and) the protector of Faith, superior in lineage and distinguished in achievements, the possessor of the world is Iskandar (Sikandar)

It was sixth of the month, [al]-Asamm (i.e. Rajab), one and nine hundred (years) from the Migration (of the Prophet) (6 Rajab 901=21 March 1496), when the province of Bihar came into his hand by God's grace, at the auspicious moment

(2) After that, on the last day (of the same month), by the exalted orders of the minister of the kingdom, the adorer of Faith, Daryā Khān, who possesses the dignity of Farīdūn.

Hājī Khān has laid the foundation of the eastern gate (of the city-wall?) Now O God! May Nūhānī be the pivot of the sphere of the country and the nation!

Daryā Khān, referred to above, succeeded his father Mubārak Khān Nūhānī, the first Lodi governor of Jaunpur and Bihar, in the governorship of Bihar, on the latter's death, in A. H. 901 (1495 A.D.)¹ He is also mentioned as having been his father's deputy (*nā'ib*) in Bihar at least in A. H. 894.² As *Amīru'l-umārā* under Sikandar and Ibrāhīm Lodi, he was not only responsible for consolidating the Lodi possessions in Bihar, but also played an important part in most of the Lodi campaigns in the east. In the last years of Ibrāhīm's unpopular regime, Daryā Khān revolted and was still deliberating over his plans, when death overtook him in 1522.³ As for Hājī Khān, the builder, it is not possible to say for certain if he is identical with Hājī Khān Tarīn, brother of Jalāl Khān, who seems to have served both Lodi and Sūr dynasties. This Hājī Khān had led the Afghān army, when Humāyūn marched on Gaur, and after killing the Mughal governors of Jaunpur and Kara-Manikpur, had occupied these places as well as Qannauj on behalf of Sher Khān, under whom he was an important officer. Sher Khān appointed him *faujdār* of Mewat in 1541.⁴

Sūr

II INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 942, FROM AMTHUA

The tablet bearing this epigraph was lying loose in a mosque at Amthua in Gaya district, when Dr Desai got its impressions prepared in 1956 in the company of Professor 'Askari, who was also

¹ Ni'matu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (Dacca, 1960), pp. 184-85

² Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 159. Dr K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 281, however, says that Daryā Khān held fief of Bihar from the days of the kings of Jaunpur.

³ For details of his career, see Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 174, Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86, 233, 249, 251-52; *Firīshīta*, *Tārīkh-i-Firīshīta*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1884), pp. 182, 191; 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ī*, ed. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashīd (Aligarh, 1954), p. 11, Rizqu'llāh, *Wāq'i'at-i-Muqtāqī* in Dr S. A. A. Rizvi, *Uttar Tarnīr-kālīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1958), pp. 158-59; and 'Askari, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 23rd Session, 1960, Aligarh (Calcutta, 1961), pp. 157-58.

⁴ Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 344. For subsequent career of Hājī Khān in Punjab, Malwa, Mewat and Gujarat, see *ibid.*, pp. 344-49, 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 431, 433; 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 148, etc.

responsible for its discovery¹. It measures 68 by 15 cm, and is slightly weather-beaten. The style of writing is also somewhat crude, and the letters are of uneven size. All these have made the decipherment of the text difficult. Moreover, the language of the record is quite hopeless. It will be observed that the sentence even is not complete. The text quoted below is the result of the efforts of Dr. Desai, who has permitted me to use the reading

It is not possible to define the exact purport of the record. But since it contains the famous tradition of the Prophet commonly found in mosque inscriptions, it may refer to the construction of some mosque, erected in the name of a saint, whose name reads like Khwāja Budh (?) Chāyanda (?). The builder's name is proposed to be deciphered as Bāzid Nūhānī Khīdr Khāli, a protege of Malik Mānūk Shahbāz Khānī, and the scribe's name, as Mirān Dā'ūd Abdāl. The connexion between the few names mentioned in the text cannot be determined beyond doubt.

Another inexplicable aspect of the record is its date, which is clearly indicated in the text as 'Shuhūr Sana nine hundred and thirtyfive, Monday, twenty-first of Sha'bān, year 942'. Now the later date in which the year is given in figure is regular, since the twenty-first of Sha'bān of A. H. 942 was Monday. But it is difficult to be exactly sure as to what the scribe meant by coupling this date with the date Shuhūr Sana 935. If the phrase Shuhūr Sana is taken literally, i.e. to mean '(in) the months of the year', the date 935 would indicate the Hijra era, in which case the year should be that of the beginning of the construction. But the text does not warrant this assumption. Alternatively, the phrase Shuhūr Sana may be taken to refer to the Shuhūr era. This era, which was commonly used in Deccan, is generally believed to have started from A. H. 744 (1343).² Now Shuhūr year 935 in vogue in Deccan was equivalent to A. H. 941 and not A. H. 942.³ But then, it may be remembered that no authentic or exact data are available about the starting point of the Shuhūr era and particularly about the months adapted for that solar-Hijra year that Shuhūr Sana represents. Then again, it is not known if the Shuhūr era as was in vogue in Deccan was current in North India as well. No doubt, the Shuhūr era was in vogue in North, as is known from an inscription at Narwar, in Sheopuri district of Madhya Pradesh, which is dated Shuhūr 909 and A. H. 914.⁴ But whether the Shuhūr era of north and south India were identical, it has not been possible to ascertain. It is likely that there was a different solar year adapted in the northern or even in the eastern region, as is perhaps indicated, to some extent, by an inscription from Budaun (p. 34, *tafsīr*). In the absence of detailed data, no definite conclusion can be reached in this regard. Consequently, in the present case, it is difficult to explain satisfactorily the two dates for the present.⁵

All the same, the epigraph is valuable. It belongs to the pre-kingship period of Sher Shāh who is designated therein as Hadrat-i-Āli Sher Khān. It thus confirms the fact that though Sher Khān was virtual master of Bihar in the year A. H. 942 (1536), he had not assumed any royal titles till then.⁶ It also corroborates the statement of Ni'matu'llāh that Sher Khān had become master of the kingdom of Bihar in A. H. 941 (1535), after the death of Dūdū, mother of Jalāl Khān Nūhānī.

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 61, 'Askari, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies* (Patna, 1954), p. 21 and n. 1.

² Dr. M. Nagina, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), pp. 33-142.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴ *EIAFS*, 1965, p. 30.

⁵ This paragraph is by the Editor.

⁶ Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 276; 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

The epigraph runs into three lines beginning with the famous tradition in Arabic, commonly found in mosque inscriptions. The remaining text is in Persian. The style of writing is *Naskh*. The record has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(۱) قال النبی علیه السلام من بنی مسحدا لله لنی الله له بینا متلہ فی الجنہ بنده خان
اعظم شہباز خان شیخ بازید نوہانی خضر خیلی بر آورده ملک العادی ملک مانک سہباز خانی
(۲) در عهد بندگی حضرت عالی شیر خان حسن سور دام عالیا باسم امام خواجہ بدھ
چایلده(۴) نیشت میران داؤد ابدال
(۳) تھور سنه خمسہ تلثیں و تسعماۃ نوم [۱]لائین الحادی و عشرون من شهر

شعبان سنه ۹۴۲

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may peace (of Allāh) be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a similar house in Paradise'. The servant (?) of Khān-i-A'zam Shahbāz Khān, (namely) Shaikh Bāzid Nūhānī Khidr Khailī (who was) raised by the just noble, Malik Mānīk Shahbāz Khānī,

(2) (constructed this mosque ?) during the reign of His Majesty Hadrat-i-Ālī Sher Khān, son of Hasan Sūr, may he always be exalted (and) in the name of Imām Khwāja Budh (?) Chāyanda. Written by (?) Mirān Dā'ūd Abdāl.

(3) (In) the Shuhūr Sana five (and) thirty and nine hundred, Monday, the twentyfirst of the month of Sha'bān 942 (14th February 1536).

Khān-i-A'zam Shahbāz Khān of the epigraph appears to be identical with Shahbāz Khān Nūhānī, son-in-law of Sher Shāh¹ who was a noble of high rank under the latter as well as under his son Islām Shāh.² About Bāzid Nūhānī, presumably the builder, nothing is known from the historical records at our disposal. From our record, it would appear that he served Malik Mānīk Shahbāz Khānī, who must have been a trusted subordinate of Shahbāz Khān. Also, we have no information about the last-mentioned and other saintly personages mentioned in the text.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 946, FROM JANA

The third inscription is dated A. H. 946 (1539) in the reign of Sher Shāh after he had assumed royal prerogatives. There is no unanimity among the authorities as to the date and place of the accession of Sher Shāh. 'Abbās Sarwānī does not mention the event at all. According to Nīzāmu'd-Dīn, Firīshṭa, Nī'matu'llāh and others, Sher Khān sat on the throne in A.H. 946 after the victory at Chausa (27 June 1539) and assumed the royal title of Sher Shāh,³ while Qanungo puts the event

¹ Bādāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 379, but Ranking in his translation (Calcutta, 1898), p. 490, makes Shahbān Khān a brother-in-law of Sher Shāh, which is wrong. Firīshṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 230, Nī'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 363 and f n 3.

² Bādāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 495, Nī'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*

³ Nīzāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 230, Firīshṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 226, Nī'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 308, 'Abdu'llāh, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Bādāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

in about the beginning of December 1539¹. But N. K. Bhattasali, on the basis of coins, fixed the date of accession between the end of June and the middle of July 1538 (i.e. about the middle of Safar A. H. 945).² It is a pity that in our record, the month is not quoted. Even then it makes it absolutely clear that there is no substance in S. R. Sharma's assertion that Sher Khān proclaimed full independence and assumed the title of Sher Shāh in A. H. 947.³

Carved on a black-tablet built into the facade of the Jāmi' mosque at Jana in Patna district,⁴ the epigraph is apparently the earliest record of Sher Shāh's period of kingship discovered so far. It would appear that the present writing was super-imposed on an earlier text without properly chiselling out the previous writing. Vertical lines particularly in the sides of the text coupled with the fact that the present epigraph does not occupy the whole area support this surmise. Also, the prolonged vertical strokes, in that case recalling to mind what is termed as Bow-and-Arrow variety of calligraphical style of Bengal inscriptions, would make the original record pertain to an earlier period.

The inscriptional tablet measures 68 by 22 cm. and contains a text of three lines in Persian executed in relief in ordinary *Naskh* script, assigning the construction of a mosque to one Ismā'il.

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)



(1) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (2) عهد سلطان سیر ساه مسجد بنی کرد بنی اسماعیل
 (3) شهود سنه سنت و اربعین تسعماية کاتب حروف ابوالغیر اوحد

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(2) (During) the reign of Sultan Sher Shāh, the mosque was constructed by the creature Ismā'il.

(3) (in) the months⁵ of the year six and forty (and) nine hundred (A. H. 946=1539 A. D.). Written by Abu'l-Khair Auhad.

I have not been able to identify either Ismā'il, the builder or Abu'l-Khair Auhad, the scribe.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 950, FROM HILSA

The fourth and the last inscription of Bihar comes from Hilsa in Patna district. The inscriptional slab measuring 82 by 33 cm. is fixed over the main entrance of the tomb of the famous saint

¹ *Qazmgo*, op. cit., pp. 206-08.

² N. K. Bhattasali, 'The date of Sher Shāh's Accession', *Islamic Culture*, vol. X (1936), pp. 127-30.

³ S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, part I (Bombay, 1934), p. 134.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 24.

⁵ I had previously deciphered it as شهور ; but the correct reading is شهود as suggested by my colleague Shri S. A. Rahma, to whom I am thankful.

⁶ The word Shāhār is evidently used here in its literary sense.

Shāh Jumman Madārī, a small square-building, built in brick after the style of Malik Bayyū's mausoleum at Bihar Sharif¹. This record was first noticed by A. Cunningham and later on its text was published without plate in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and also by Professor 'Askari².

The epigraph, comprising seven lines of Persian prose executed in relief in ordinary *Naskh* characters, mentions the fact that the tomb of the saint was repaired during the life-time of Miyān Shaikh 'Ālam, son of Ādam, son of Jumman Madārī, in A H 950 (1543),³ during the rule of Sher Shāh. It also mentions Daryā Khān Nūhānī, either as the builder of the original tomb or as the one who carried out the repairs. The text further names Shams Madārī as the supervisor of the construction.

The epigraph has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله نزكره (كدا) مرمت
 (۲) كنبد بندگی خضرت میران سید جمن مداری قدس الله روحه بحضور
 (۳) بندگی میان شیخ عالم آدم شاه حسن مداری در عمل بندگی
 (۴) خضرت سلیمان شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه
 (۵) بر آورده دریا خان رنگی هود نوحانی خاص خیل
 (۶) التاسع و العشرين من ماه صفر ختم الله بالخير و الظفر
 (۷) سنه ۹۵۰ کارفرمان شمس مداری

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. (This is) an account of the repairs

(2) to the dome (i.e. tomb) of His Holiness Mirān Sayyid Jumman Madārī, may Allāh sanctify his soul, in the presence of (i.e. during the life-time of)

(3) the revered Miyān Shaikh 'Ālam (son of) Ādam, (son of) Shāh Jumman Madārī, during the time of His Majesty

(4) possessing the dignity of Solomon, (namely) Sher Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, which were

(5) carried out by (‡) Daryā Khān Zangi Hüd Nūhānī Khāss Khālī

(6) (on the) twenty-ninth of the month of Safar, may Allāh end it with welfare and victory!

(7) of the year (A. H.) 950 (29 Safar 950=3 June 1543) The supervisor (is) Shams Madārī.

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 22. A loose inscriptional tablet kept in the house of the *mutawalli* of the tomb contains a record of the pre-kingship period of *Mughal* emperor *Jahāngīr*. It refers to the construction of a mosque in the *Dargāh* (*EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 41-42).

² A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1881), pp. 163-64; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IV (1918), pp. 186-87, *Current Studies*, Patna, 1954, p. 21, n. 2

³ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 164, wrongly considers that it is the date of the erection of the tomb.

The saint¹ Jumman Madārī, a renowned representative of Madāriyya order of his time, was greatly venerated by the people of Bihar. It is difficult to satisfactorily establish the identity of Daryā Khān Zangi Hūd Nūhānī Khāss Khāl mentioned in the record. The difficulty arises out of the fact that the language of the text is clumsy and indifferent. If the phrase *barāwārda*, whose indefinite *barāwārdan* means 'to raise, to bring up, to carry out', etc., is taken to mean 'brought up by', then Daryā Khān of our inscription would be none other than Daryā Khān Nūhānī, Lodi governor of Bihar, already referred to in the preceding lines, and the record would supply an interesting piece of information of Sher Shāh's being a protege of his, as was pointed out earlier by Professor 'Askarī. But in that case, there would not be any mention in the record of the person who carried out the repairs. This omission would be supplied if we take the phrase *barāwārda* to indicate 'carried out' in which case Daryā Khān, who repaired the tomb, would be an altogether different person. There is yet another alternative. The phrase may be taken to indicate that repairs were done to the tomb which was originally raised or built by Daryā Khān. If so, Daryā Khān could be the famous governor. Also, in that case, the repairs must have been undertaken by Shaikh 'Ālam, the saint's grandson. I am personally inclined to take the last-mentioned view. Likewise, nothing is known from the historical records either about Shaikh 'Ālam in whose tenure as *sajjāda*—for that is how, I think the phrase *ba-hudūr* can best be interpreted—the repairs were carried out or about Shams Madārī who supervised the work. Their very existence is known from our record only.

Uttar Pradesh

Most of the buildings of the Lodi-Sūr periods in Uttar Pradesh are now lying in ruinous condition and except few, are devoid of any epigraphical records. Of the seven inscriptions found in recent years in the province, two represent the independent rule at Budaun of A'zam Humāyūn Ahmad Khān, two belong to the time of the Lodis and the remaining three represent the reign of the Sūrs. They represent all the Lodi and Sūr kings except Buhlūl Shāh. In view of the paucity of sufficient historical information about the period under review, these inscriptions, it is hoped, will provide useful material for the history as well as for a study of mural calligraphy then prevalent. It will also prove useful for regional history.

Lodi

The first two records are dated in the reign of A'zam Humāyūn Ahmad Khān who seems to have ruled independently at Budaun.² Their importance lies in the fact that these are the only known records mentioning the independent rule of this chief, about which historical works are silent. They were first noticed by Cunningham and subsequently by Maulvi Radī'u'd-Dīn, but they were unable to decipher them correctly and fully, nor could they give any satisfactory account of Ahmad Khān and his independent position.

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 882, FROM BUDAUN

The first of these two epigraphs, and the fifth of this study, appears on the southern door of a tomb situated to the west of the town.³ It is carved on two different-coloured sandstone slabs,

¹ An account of the saint will be found in Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

² For references to the history of Budaun and its monuments and inscriptions, see *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 7, f.n. 2, and *ibid.*, 1965, p. 11, f.n. 5.

³ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 248, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 9, A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions from the North West Frontier Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 22, Radī'u'd-Dīn, *Kanzu't-Tārīkh* (Budaun, A.H. 1319), p. 58.

the one on the left hand being white and the other, red Cunningham and A Fuhrer who apparently followed him, were mistaken in taking this single epigraph as two separate records on the basis of the different colours of the two tablets and two dates given therein¹ As will be seen presently, they contain only one epigraph

The said tomb is a structure of about 8 metres square outside, with a square room inside Cunningham who marked it as Tomb C, ascribed the tomb to 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alam Shāh and Fuhrer, to him and to his wife both, on the basis of the date A H 882 (1478) of the inscription But though Radī'u'd-Dīn refuted their statements and correctly ascribed it to 'Imādu'l-Mulk, he was unfortunately puzzled by the two dates and like Cunningham, believed that the writing on these two slabs constituted two separate records²

The inscriptional tablet measures 92 by 38 cm and contains a four-line text in Persian prose, executed in relief in crude *Naskh* The weathering of the stone has resulted in slight damage to the writing, which states that the tomb of Malik-i Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk was constructed in the reign of A'zam Humāyūn Nawwāb Ahmad Khān, at the instance of Malik-i Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk, son of the deceased, in A H 877 (1472-73) Its date of writing is given as A H 882 (1478) The name of the scribe is lost

It will be observed that two dates are quoted in the text one, 877, preceded by the words *Shuhūr* in which the construction took place and the other, 2nd *Dhu'l-Hijja* (A H) 882, when the text was inscribed If the first date is taken to be in the Hijra and not in *Shuhūr* era, it would mean that the slab was inscribed five years after the construction of the tomb, which is rather inexplicable Why should it take so much time for the setting up of a mere inscription? What prevented from its being put up on the completion of such a time-consuming job of the construction of the tomb? This difficulty would be removed if both the years were identical, that is to say, if 877 represented some other era and corresponded to A. H 882 On the face of it, one would appear to represent the solar era called *Shuhūr* San and the other, the lunar Hijra era. But as in the case of the Amthua inscription (Inscription No II above), both the years do not tally A H 882 ended on 3rd April 1478, while *Shuhūr* 877 was over on 24th May of 1477 itself, according to the system prevalent in Deccan⁴ In view of the fact that even according to this reckoning, the difference is slightly less than one year, both in the case of this as well as the Amthua inscription, I feel that very likely, there is either some complication some where in the *Shuhūr* calculation, particularly when we know that we do not possess much details thereof, such as the actual duration of its months, etc. or in the alternative, in northern or eastern India, as stated earlier, there might have been in vogue another solar-lunar adaptation of the Hijra era A definite conclusion can only be reached, when more definite data are available.

The style of writing is somewhat peculiar so far as the arrangement of letters and spellings of certain words are concerned In quite a few places, the ligatures have been dispensed with and even certain letters are so engraved as to represent other letters For example, the *b* of *bandāgī* in the first line and the *w* of *Nawwāb* in the second are engraved as *m* and *r* respectively All this tends to show the ignorance of the scribe⁵

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Fuhrer, *op. cit.*

² *Ibid*

³ Radī'u'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 80

⁴ Nāzīm, *op. cit.*, p. 96

⁵ These two paras are by the Editor.

The rubbings of this epigraph were prepared by our office in 1960. Its tentative reading prepared by Shri S M A Nadvi, then Junior Technical Assistant, was finalized by Dr. Desai¹ and it reads as under —

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

- (۱) بنا[ی] این گنبد مقبره بندگی ملکشرق عmad الملک در عهد دولت بندگی اعلی
- (۲) اعظم همایون نواب احمد خان دام عالیا نفرمایش ملکشرق عmad
- (۳) لملک بن عmad الملک شهود سنه سع سبعین و ثمانمایه مور
- (۴) خا فیه الثاني من ذی الحجه سنه اثنی و ثمانین و ثمانمایه کاتبه.....

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this dome of the tomb of His Highness Malik-i-Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk (took place) in the reign of the government of His Exalted Highness

(2) A'zam Humāyūn Nawwāb Ahmad Khān, may he be ever exalted, at the instance of Malik-i-Sharq 'Imād-

(3) u'l-Mulk, son of 'Imādu'l-Mulk (in) the Shuhūr (or months of the) year, seventyseven and eight hundred.

(4) Dated (i.e written on) the 2nd Dhu'l-Hijja, year (A.H) two and eighty and eight hundred (۲ Dhu'l-Hijja 882=7 March 1478) Its writer is. . . .

Little is known about Ahmad Khān whom the text calls the reigning chief. Contemporary historians are silent about his independent rule at Budaun. Very probably, he is identical with Ahmad Khān, uncle of Bahlūl Lodi, who, according to 'Abdu'l-lāh, was permanently stationed at Budaun by his nephew to attend, in fact, to keep an eye, upon the Sayyid king 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh, then reigning at Budaun.² But we do not know how and when Ahmad Khān assumed independence and how long it lasted. Now at the time of the setting up of the record, the Sayyid king was alive.³ Then according to historians, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn was succeeded by his son, and it was the latter who was overthrown by his kinsman Hussain Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur.⁴ This would rule out the independent reign of Ahmad Khān. The only explanation for this, provided of course, the historians are correct, may be that Ahmad Khān was all powerful and was *de facto* ruler of the place, which fact was perhaps, by way of flattery, mentioned as *de jure* by the composer.

As regards both Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Imādu'l-Mulk the father and the son, we are not in a position to establish their identity, particularly since on one hand there were quite a few nobles of the Sayyid and Lodi kings who bore this title, and on the other, even about them, not much

¹ An incomplete and incorrect reading is quoted in Radiu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60

² 'Abdu'l-lāh, *op. cit.*, p. 16. There was one more important Lodi noble Ahmad Khān, son of Khān Jahān, who served both Bahlūl and Sikandar Lodi (*ibid.*, p. 64, Ni'matu'l-lāh, *op. cit.*, p. 184). But he received the title of A'zam Humāyūn as late as in A.H. 901 (1495-96), that is, nineteen years after the date of our inscription. Moreover, no reference to his association with Budaun is found in chronicles

³ He died in A.H. 883 (1478-79), *vide*, Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Also, of Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴ Ni'matu'l-lāh, *op. cit.*, p. 156, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLI, Calcutta (1872), p. 113.

(a) Inscription, dated A H 950, from Hilsa (p 31)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۝ إِلَهُ الْعَالَمِينَ حَمْدُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَحْدَهُ
كُلُّ شَيْءٍ بِنَيْكَ حَقْيَنْ بِرَانْ سِيلْ جَهْنْ مَدَارِيْ بِرَانْ تَدَسْ لَاهْ (وَهُوَ كَبِيرُ
بِنَيْكَ هَيَّانْ شَخْ عَالِمْ زَدَمْ شَاهْ جَهْنْ مَدَارِيْ بِرَانْ دَرَعَلْ بَيَّنْ
حَقْيَنْ سِيلْ بَيَّنْ شَيْرَشَاهْ سُلْطَانْ خَلْدَالَهْ مَلَكْ وَسُلْطَانْ
بِرَانْ دَرَدْ لَاهْ بَيَّخَانْ زَنَكَى هَوَدْ نُوْحَانْ خَاصْ خَيلْ
الْتَّاسِعْ وَالْعَشَرَينْ شَهْوَهْ صَفَرْ خَمْ اَلَهْ بَانَلَهْ بَانَلَهْ وَالْعَظْفُ
أَحَادِيرْ وَهَانَلَهْ بَانَلَهْ بَانَلَهْ مَلَكْ

SCALE 17

(b) Record of A'zam Humāyūn Ahmad Khān, dated A H 882, from Budāun (p. 34)

لیاں لیں کنڈا مقبے عرکی تکر تیو لا لیں جو کو اواضیہ ملے
لیواہاںوں رک رک جاں لیں مانگاں جو کو ایساں ملے

SCALE .17

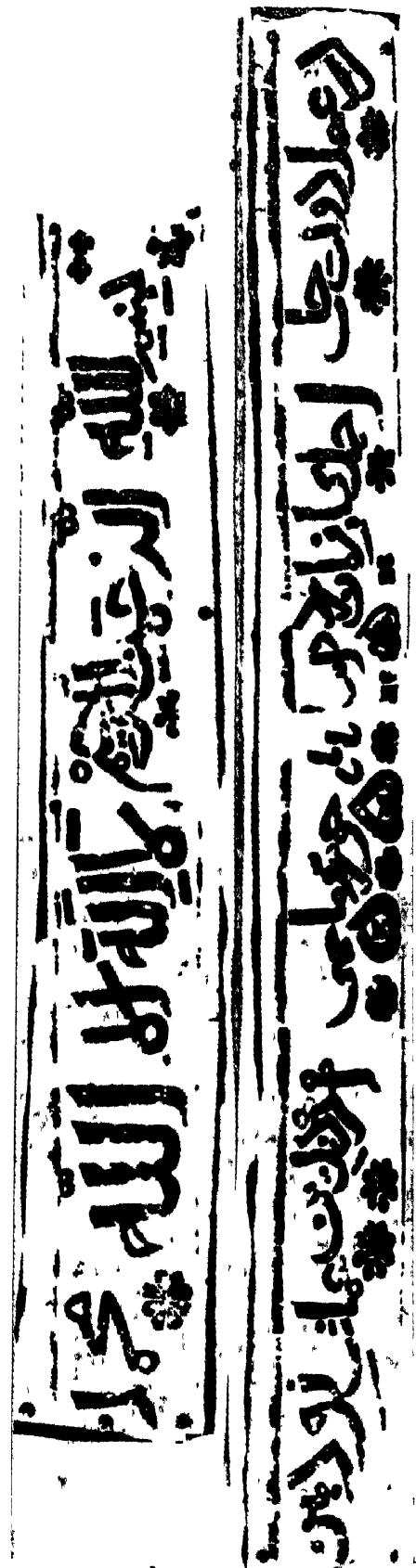
(a) *Sūr inscription*, dated A.H. 950, from Budān (P. 41)



SCALE 17

PLATE VIII

(b) An undated record of Ahmad Khān, from Budān (P. 35)



is known from historical works mentioning them¹ According to Radīu'd-Dīn, 'Imādu'l-Mulk was the brother of Ahmad Khān mentioned in the inscription,² but he has cited no authority for his statement. In any case, it is evident that both the father and the son were nobles of great rank and were connected with Budaun in some way or the other.

VI. UNDATED EPIGRAPH FROM THE SAME PLACE

The tablet bearing the second inscription of the same Ahmad Khān is built up in the southern wall of the tomb near the above, called Gumbad-i-Rāpar, locally,³ or Tomb D by Cunningham.⁴ It is one of the largest tombs now standing at Budaun, being a square of 13 metres outside, with a room 8.5 metres square inside. Its dome, which is incidentally far loftier than that of Chīmī Khān's tomb, also at Budaun, is dwarfed by the great mass of building below. Had its corners been cut off, this would have been, according to Cunningham, one of the most striking tombs in Budaun. It was ascribed by him to Daulat Khān, evidently due to his wrong reading of the epigraph.⁵ On the other hand, Radīu'd-Dīn also believed, on the basis of this epigraph, that the tomb contained the remains of Ahmad Khān or some of his relatives, but there is nothing in the text to suggest this. As it is, the inscription refers to the reign of Ahmad Khān indicating that he was then alive, though the possibility that he might have got it constructed for himself in his life time is there.

The epigraphical tablet, measuring 2.6 m. by 15 cm., contains *Bismi'llāh* and First Creed, followed by a Persian verse, all inscribed in a single line, purporting that when they constructed the edifice during the reign of Ahmad Khān, Jūmman and Mājhī were the supervisors-in-charge (*kārfarmān*). There is unfortunately no date, nor is there any indication that the epigraph is incomplete. The writing is slightly damaged, and the script is crude *Naskh*.

It reads as follows⁶ :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
در عهد دولت خان احمد کار فرمان هر دو این جو من و ماجھی که کردن دن عمارت زود بین

TRANSLATION

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad [is the Prophet of Allāh].

In the period of the rule of Khān-i-Aḥmad (i.e. Ahmad Khān), lo! both the supervisors were Jūmman and Mājhī who constructed this edifice.

¹ Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 54, 68, 201, 204, 211, 225

² Radīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴ ARIE, 1960-61, No. D 249.

⁵ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 10

⁶ The text of this epigraph was also finalized by Dr. Desai who had got its impressions prepared.

⁷ This reading of the name is suggested by Dr. Desai.

Needless to say that Khān-i-Ahmad is none other than A'zam Humāyūn Ahmad Khān of the previous epigraph Jūmman and Mājhī, who were the overseers supervising the construction, might have been local officials.

VII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 909, FROM SAMBHAL

The seventh inscription of the group and the first of Sikandar Lodi is a new and interesting record. It was first found by the late Maulvī Muhammad Ashraf Husain, a former editor of this Series, immediately prior to his retirement. It was subsequently deciphered and listed by Dr Desai, and it is his reading that has been utilised here. The inscriptional tablet is reported to be built into the inner side of the eastern wall, near the entrance, of the Sarāi Tarīn mosque at Sambhal in Moradabad District¹.

The town of Sambhal, now a *tahsil* headquarters, is a place of antiquarian interest. The ancient mounds and remains of old buildings are to be found in the town proper as well as in the vicinity. It had numerous *sarāis* (inns), being in those days a halting stage for travellers between Delhi and Budaun, tradition avers that there were as many as 52 *sarāis* at one time. From these, most of the present day localities have derived their name. It is a pity that most of these and other historical buildings are no more extant².

Sambhal was conquered by the Muslims in the early period and remained a part of the Delhi kingdom thereafter. It was for sometime held by the Lodis and sometime by the Sharqīs during their struggle for political supremacy³. In A H 905 (1499-1500), Sikandar Lodi came to Sambhal and stayed there for four years.⁴

The tablet bearing the inscription measures 82 by 23 cm and contains a one-line text in Persian, which assigns the erection of a mosque in 1503 to Miyān Dādū Malik, son of Maghūlā, son of Ikhtiyār Khān, the *chāshnigīr* of the Sultān.

The inscription is thus quite interesting. It was set up at a time when Sikandar Lodi was stationed at Sambhal. It also records the name and designation of one of his trusted officials who is not mentioned in any historical work. Calligraphically too, it is remarkable for its fine and artistic execution. The style of writing, which is *Thulth*, with *Tughrā* flourish, of a fairly high order, recalls to mind some similarly executed epigraphs of Bengal.

Its text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

بنا کرد ان مسجد بوق سعد و اقبال صاحب العز و الکمال میان دادو ملک بن منو لا
بن اختیار خان چاسنیگیر سلطان السلاطین سلطان سکندر بن بہلول تاہ سلطان روز یکشنبه
دوازدهم ماه ربیع الاول سنه سع و سعما یه

¹ ARRI, 1952-53, No C, 158

² H.R. Nevill, *U P District Gazetteers*, vol. XVI, Moradabad (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 253-55.

³ For the detailed history and archaeology of Sambhal, see *ibid.*, pp. 141-69, 253-62, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XII (Calcutta, 1879), pp. 24-27.

⁴ "Abdu'l-Bhāb, *op. cit.*, p. 54, Ni'matu'llāh, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-91, Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-64, Firīshṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

TRANSLATION

This mosque was constructed at an auspicious and propitious time by the lord of the dignity and perfection, Miyān Dādū Malik, son of Maghūlā, son of Ikhtiyār Khān, the *chāshnīgīr* of the king of kings, Sultān Sikandar, son of Buhlūl Shāh, the Sultān, on Sunday, the 12th of the month of Rabi'u'l-Awwal, year (A H) nine and nine hundred (Monday, 12 Rabi' I 909=4 September 1503).

It is difficult to trace the builder of the mosque, Miyān Dādū Malik, from available records. Even the information that he was the royal *chāshnīgīr*¹ (superintendent of the royal kitchen and food) and caused a mosque to be erected at Sambhal is furnished by the present record only. But his father and grandfather may possibly be identified with Maghūlā and Ikhtiyār Khān Karrānī who fought for Miyān Husain Farmulī, fief-holder of Saran in Bihar under Sikandar Lodi, in his conquest of Champaran. Maghūlā lost his life in the engagement.²

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 927, FROM AGRA

The last Lodi record from Uttar Pradesh and eighth of the article, belonging to the time of Ibrāhīm Shāh Lodi, is from Agra. Historically, it is interesting in that it is not only one of the very few known records of this king, particularly from Uttar Pradesh, but also one of the very few pre-Mughal records found at Agra. Also, it mentions two personages and gives some new piece of information about them. Then, the mention of Delhi in the text as the capital is noteworthy.

The inscribed slab, measuring 1 02 m by 40 cm, is set up over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque in Mahalla-Athāin.³ It was copied by Shri S A Rahim. I have utilised the reading prepared by him. I am beholden to him as well as to Dr Desai who suggested improved readings of a couple of words. The writing which is slightly damaged consists of three lines of Persian prose, executed in *Naskh* characters of a fairly high order. The first line, written in large letters, comprises the First Creed, while the remaining two lines, in much smaller hand, assigns the construction of a mosque in 1521 to Ruknū'd-Dīn Mardānshah Zafarābādī (i.e. of Zafarabad), a servant of Majlis-i-'Alī Zafar Khān *alias* Miyān Makan.

The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate X (b)

۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

۲) بتاريخ بیس یکم ماه دی الحجه سنہ سبعو عشرين و سعمائیه در عهد سلطان
ابراهیم شاه ان اسکندر شاه ان بھلوشہ لودی پادشاه دار الملک شهر دہلی رکن الدین
مردانشہ طفرایادی متعلق مجلس عالی ظفر خان عرف میان مکن ان مسجد بنا
کناید هر که دین مسجد نمار نگدارد بانی دا بدعاء ایمان مراد پر آرد بمنه و فضله

¹ The *chāshnīgīr* supervised the kitchen and tasted the food to be served to the king (I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1942, p. 62).

² Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-58. I owe this reference to Dr. Desai.

³ ARRIE, 1965-66, No. D, 389. (It was first described in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle*, 1909-10, p. 38, No. 125, but its notice is full of mistakes of dates and names.—Ed.)

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(2) On the twentyfirst of the month of Dhī'l-Hijja, year (A H.) seven and twenty and nine hundred (21 Dhī'l-Hijja 927=22 November 1521), during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Iskandar (i.e. Sikandar) Shāh, son of Buhlūl Shāh Lodī, king of the capital city of Delhi, Ruknū'd-Dīn

(3) Mardānshah Zafarābādī, a servant of Majlis-i-'Āli Zafar Khān *alias* Miyān Makan, got this mosque constructed. Whoever offers prayer in this mosque, should fulfil the desire of the builder by offering prayers for his faith By His (God's) Grace and Favour

Nothing is known from historical works about Ruknū'd-Dīn Mardānshah who built the mosque. According to our epigraph, he was in the employ of Majlis-i-'Āli Zafar Khān *alias* Miyān Makan and hailed from Zafarabad, near Jaunpur. He may have been posted at Agra by his master. Miyān Makan himself must have been a noble of very high rank, as his title Majlis-i-'Āli shows. But he does not find detailed mention in historical works. We know only one Miyān Makan, variously written as Makhan or Makhan, a famous general of Ibrāhīm Lodī, who led the army against the forces of Rānā Sāngā¹. Nothing more is known about him. Evidently, he is identical with the Majlis-i-'Āli of our record, which thus furnishes us not only with his title Zafar Khān, but also with the correct spelling of his name Makan.

Sūrs

As stated above, we have so far had three inscriptions of the Sūr kings from Uttar Pradesh:² Two bear the name of Sher Shāh and one, that of his son and successor Islām Shāh.

IX INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 947, FROM SAKIT

The first inscription of Sher Shāh is from a mosque at Sakit, in Etah district³. It was published along with other inscriptions from the place by H. Blochmann whose reading except of a few words is correct⁴. The only misreading of some consequence is 'Mati' instead of the correct clan-name Batānī. But the epigraph was neither illustrated nor critically edited by him, and hence it is included here.

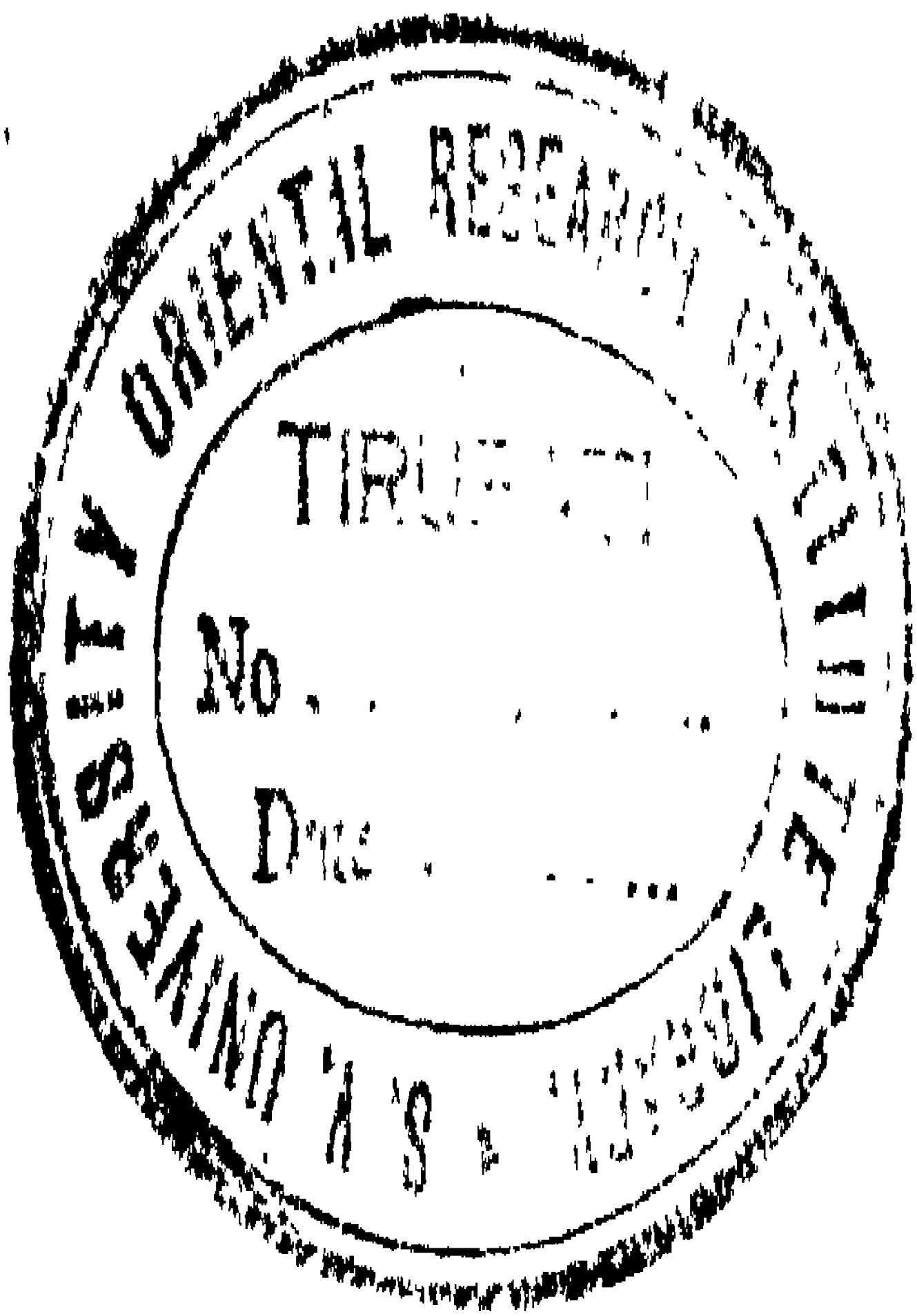
The large tablet measuring 1.96 m. by 60 cm. is inscribed with four lines of Arabic prose with an admixture of Persian words, which are executed in fairly good *Naskh* script. The text purports that a mosque was constructed in 1540 by the orders of Mas'ūd Khān, son of Mas'ūd Khān Batānī. It quotes the full titles of Sher Shāh, to wit, the Imām, Farīdu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Sher Shāh 'Ādil. Incidentally, 'Ādil does not seem to have been used here in its literary sense, but as a title. Also, the titles Imām, Farīdu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, etc., used here, are not generally met with in the epigraphs of Sher Shāh.

¹ Ahmad Yādgār, *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 78-83.

² There is one more epigraph of the time of Islām Shāh at Agra, but its old impression preserved in my office was worn out and hence, it was not possible for Mr. Siddiqi to include it in this study. A new impression was subsequently prepared by me in 1966 after Mr. Siddiqi had left my office on temporary transfer. It was listed in *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 374.—Ed.

³ *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 133. For the history and archaeological remains of Sakit, see E. R. Neave, *U.P. District Gazetteers*, vol. XII, Etah (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 126-42, 213-14.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB)*, 1874 (Calcutta, 1875), pp. 104-05; E. T. Atkinson, *National, Descriptive and Historical account of the North-Western Provinces* (Allahabad, 1876), p. 189, *ARIE*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 131-132, *AIM*, 1913, 14, p. 32.



A striking aspect of the text is that it suffers from grammatical mistakes. The last two invocations to the Divine attributes after the First Creed in the first line should have been without the definite article, the letter *a* is omitted in the first line in two places and the first phrase and the invocatory formulae in the last line, are grammatically wrong.

It reads as under —

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِالرَّحْمَنِ بِالرَّحِيمِ (كَلَمًا)
 (۲) بَنَاءُ هَذِهِ الْمَسْجِدِ الْمَنَارَكَةِ فِي عَهْدِ الْإِمَامِ خَدَاوَنْدِ عَالَمِ نَادِشَاهِ بْنِ آدَمِ فَرِيدِ الدِّينِ
 وَ الدِّينِ
 (۳) أَنُو الْمَظْفَرِ شِيرِ شَاهِ عَادِلِ سُلْطَانِ خَلَدِ اللَّهِ مَلَكِهِ وَ سُلْطَانِهِ وَ أَعْلَى امْرَهِ وَ شَانِهِ اسْبَ(؟)
 (۴) فِي الْأَمْرِ [مَسْعُودٌ] حَانَ بْنَ مَسْعُودٍ خَانَ بْنَتِي قُبْلَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ شَهْرِ شَعْبَانِ
 سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَ أَرْبَعِينَ وَ تِسْعَمَاً

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. O Allāh ! O Beneficent ! O Merciful !

(2) The construction of this auspicious mosque took place in the reign of the Imām, master of the world, king of the mankind, Farīdu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Muzaffar, Sher Shāh 'Ādil (lit. just), the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and may his authority and dignity be exalted !

(4) by the order of Mas'ūd(?) Khān, son of Mas'ūd Khān Batānī, may Allāh accept his (good deed), (on) the seventh of the month of Sha'bān, year (A.H.) seven and forty and nine hundred (7 Sha'bān 947=7 December 1540).

I have not been able to trace Mas'ūd Khān, at whose instance the mosque was erected. But he could be identical with a notable Sūr noble Mas'ūd Khān, governor of Amroha, who helped Prince Ibrāhīm Sūr at Sambhal, the findspot of this record, in his contest for the throne, fifteen years after its date.^۱

X INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 949, FROM ALIGARH

The other inscription of Sher Shāh and tenth of this group is from Aligarh, a district headquarters. The old name of the city is Kol or Kol. Nothing definite is known of its history till

^۱ This appears to be سَعْوَد — Sa'ūd in the rubbing, and it was read so by Mr. Suddiqi. But I suggested that very likely, the letter م in the beginning has flaked off. The name Sa'ūd Khān is generally not met with in Afghān histories — Ed.

² Blochmann, *P.A.S.R.*, 1874, correctly pointed out that this is intended for قَبْلَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ.

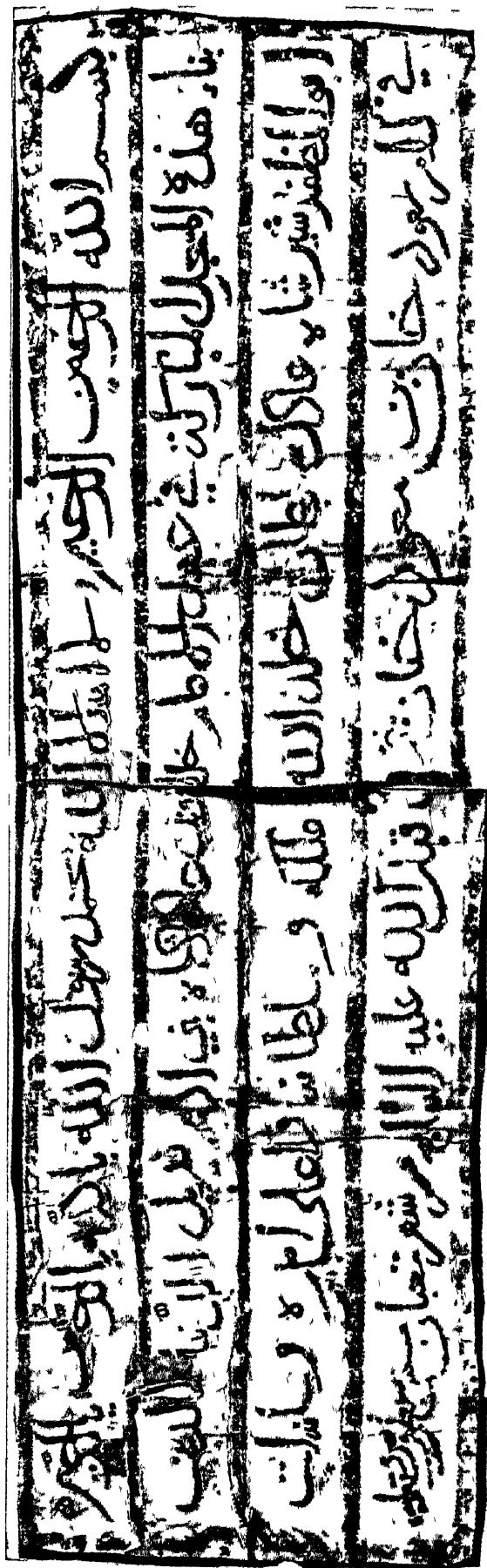
³ Badā'yūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

(a) Sikandar Lodi's record, dated A H 909, from Samlajul (p. 36)



SCALE 22

(b) Epigraph of Sher Shah dated A H 947, from Sakit (p. 39)



SCALE 1

the twelfth century. It was taken by Qutbu'd-Din Aibak in 1194¹. Since then, it became the seat of a Muslim governor and finds frequent mention in contemporary Persian chronicles.

The slab bearing this record, which measures 72 by 35 cm., is built up in the southern wall of the tomb of the famous local saint Jamālu'd-Dīn Shamsu'l-Ārifīn². It is evidently not *in situ*, for it mentions the construction of a mosque. The tablet may have belonged to a dilapidated one-wall mosque attached to a tomb nearby, which dates from the Sūr period. An almost obliterated inscription of the time of the Sūr king, fixed in a ruined wall behind the mosque, was noticed by me recently. The inner surface of the wall and dome of the tomb under reference are also inscribed in the same fashion with quotations from the *Qur'ān*.

The epigraph comprises two verses in Persian. The writing which is slightly damaged, is executed in relief in *Thulth* style of a fairly high order. It records the construction of a mosque in 1542 by Zainu'l-Ābidīn, son of Karīmu'd-Dīn.

The text reads as follows³—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(۱) کرد این مسجد بعهد شاه عالم شیر شاه بند زین العابدین این کریم الدین بنا
 (۲) ستم بود از جماد الاول و نهم صد چهل چون برونه هم بود از هجرت آن مصطفی

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of the king of the world, Sher Shāh, by the servant Zainu'l-Ābidīn, son of Karīmu'd-Dīn.

(2) It was twentieth (day) of the month of Jumādā'l-Awwal, and the year from the Migration of the Prophet was nine hundred forty with nine added to it (20 Jumādā I 949=1 September 1542).

Zainu'l-Ābidīn must have been an official, but his identity is unknown.

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 950, FROM BUDAUN

The eleventh inscription with which the article is concluded represents the reign of Islām Shāh. It is engraved in relief on a tablet, measuring 65 by 45 cm., which is fixed above the eastern door of a tomb, locally called Jhujhār Khān's Rauda in Sarāi-Mallān, near Mahalla-Qabūlpūra of Budāun. Marked as Tomb F by Cunningham, the building stands close to the tomb of Chimni Khān and is ornamented with a single band of dark-blue glazed tiles, and has a rather flat dome⁴.

The text comprises five lines of slightly damaged writing in Arabic and Persian prose, which are executed in ordinary *Naskh* script. The first two lines contain religious text and in the

¹ For a detailed history and account of the remains of Aligarh, see H R Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol XI, Aligarh (Allahabad, 1909), pp 163-70, 197-208.

² *ARIE*, 1960-61, No D, 218. For the Mamlūk and Mughal inscriptions from Aligarh, see *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 23; *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos D, 217, 219-20, *EJAPS*, 1966, p. 10.

³ The reading was finalised in consultation with Dr. Desai.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No D, 240. Its reading was prepared by Shri Nadvi and finalised by Dr. Desai.

(a) Epigraph of Shor Shih, dated A H 949, from Aligarh (p. 40)



SCALE 2

(b) Ibrāhīm Lodi's inscription, dated A H 927 from Agra (p. 37)



remaining three lines, which contain the historical information, it is stated that the tomb of Jujhār Khān *alias Shaikh* Buddhan, son of Sa'du'llāh was constructed by Miyān Fathu'llāh in 1550, during the reign of Islām Shāh.

The inscription was noticed earlier by both Cunningham and Radiu'd-Dīn.¹ The latter quoted its date as A H 950 instead of A H 957, but Cunningham had assigned it to the time of Islām Shāh, having correctly read the date.

Its text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 (۲) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (۳) اين گمند ازان ججهاد خان عرف سیع بدھن
 (۴) معد الله سنه سیع و خمسین و نیسمائیہ در عهد
 (۵) اسلام شاہ فرمائیں میان فتح الله

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent and Merciful
- (2) There is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh
- (3) This dome (i.e. tomb) is that of Jujhār Khān *alias Shaikh* Buddhan.
- (4) (son of) Sa'du'llāh (and was built in the) year (A.H.) seven and fifty and nine hundred (A.H. 957=1550 A.D.), in the reign of
- (5) Islām Shāh, at the instance of Miyān Fathu'llāh

Jujhār Khān is not as obscure a figure as most of the persons mentioned in the previous line are. Radiu'd-Dīn, on the basis of the local tradition perhaps, says that his real name was *Shaikh Shamsu'd-Dīn* *alias Shaikh* Buddhan *Quraishi* *Siddiqi*; he was a descendant of 'Abdu'r-Rahmān son of Abū Bakr the first caliph, and his great grandfather 'Abdu'llāh Makki had settled down at Budaun.²

Radiu'd-Dīn also quotes a contemporary reference to him, but has not given the details. Jujhār Khān's townsman, Badāyūnī, who casually mentions him, states that he was one of the chief and leading men of Budaun, who also used to compose verses under the *nom-de-plume* *Zāhid*. He also cites one of his verses and the witty comments thereon of Mir Murtadā Ilmi, sometime fief-holder of Budaun. The reference is contained in this *Ilmi*'s account.³

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, p. 9, Radiu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

² Radiu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 62

³ Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1869), p. 279.]

Thus, our inscription supplies additional information about his own name proper as well as that of his father. But what is yet more important is that it determines the correct spelling of the name. Neither Radiu'd-Din who had seen the epigraph, nor Sir Wolseley Haig, Badāyūni's translator, was able to establish the correct spelling. Both the manuscripts of Badāyūni's work which Haig consulted had Hijāz Khān, while the printed text has Hahjāz or Jahjāz Khān.¹ On the other hand, Radiu'd-Din had read it as Jhajjār Khān.² The name is clearly written on the stone as جھار خان—Juhār Khān, which must be accepted as final.³

¹ *Masāhabī-Tawārīkh*, English translation, vol. III (Calcutta, 1925), p. 385, f.n. 5.

² Radiu'd-Din, *op. cit.*

³ These two paragraphs are by the Editor.

NIZAM SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM GALNA

By A. A. KADIRI

Epigraphical Assistant

Of about thirtyfive Nizām Shāhī inscriptions so far published, only three are from Galna in Nasik district of Maharashtra¹ I propose to study here ten more inscriptions of this dynasty found in recent years from the village and the fort of Galna. These range in their dates from A. H. 974 (1566-67) to A. H. 1030 (1620-21) and represent the reigns of three Nizām Shāhī kings.

The fort of Galna situated in 20°46' N. and 74°32' E., which along with Salher and Mulher, is one of the nine impregnable strongholds of Baglana,² was from ancient times under the authority of the Rāthor rājās of Baglana who styled themselves as Bhārji.³ Some time during the latter half of the 15th century, it became part of the Bahmani territory in the regime of the formidable minister Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, but it does not seem to have remained long under the Muslim power. As a matter of fact, in the succeeding years, the fort was a bone of contention between the two, one dislodging the other from there, as and when any advantage offered itself.

On the death of Muhammad Shāh III in 1482, Galna was retaken by Bhārji, but the Rājā was subdued by Malik Wajīh and Malik Ashraf, the governors of Daulatābād and the neighbourhood, some time in 1487.⁴ In 1490, one Dastūr Khān was the commandant of the Galna fort, probably on behalf of Malik Wajīh, according to an epigraph.⁵ However, the Rājā must have re-captured it some time during the confusion that prevailed on the murder of Malik Wajīh, since we are told that the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, Malik Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri, had to reduce the Rājā of Baglana in 1506.⁶

Once again the Rājā seems to have thrown off his allegiance and conquered the fort of Galna, probably on the death of Ahmad Nizām Shāh I (1490-1510), and it was not until 1534 that Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1510-53) besieged and captured it.⁷ Rājā Bhārji again availed himself of the opportunity of taking it in 1543 from the garrison, when Burhān marched to Raichur to assist his confederate Rām Rāj.⁸ Thereafter, it remained in the possession of the Rājā till 1560, when Husain Nizām Shāh I (1553-65), after reducing the Antur fort, conquered it and appointed one of his officers, with instructions to strengthen and improve the defences of the fort in order to hold it securely.⁹

¹ *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 13-16

² For details, see A. Richardson, 'Description of the Fort of Galna in Khandeish', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VI (1861), pp. 143-45

³ J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vols I and II (Calcutta, 1925), p. 44. *Firishta, Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Kanpur, 1884), vol. II, p. 97, mentions him as a Marāthā chief

⁴ *Firishta, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 364, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency (BG)*, vol. XVI, Nasik District (Bombay, 1883), p. 438.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1929-30, pp. 5-6

⁶ *Firishta, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 100.

⁷ 'Ali Tabātabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 295.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-92. According to *Firishta, op. cit.*, p. 124, Husain Shāh was the first to take the Galna fort from the Rājā.

From 1560 onwards, Galna remained a Nizām Shāhī possession. But unfortunately, historical works do not contain any information about its administration or governors, etc. However, the epigraphs from the place provide the names of at least six officials, four of whom are not known from any other source: Aflātūn Khān finds mention in four inscriptions, dated 1562-63, 1566-67, 1569-70 and 1570-71, Haibat Khān the Abyssinian, in two, dated 1557 and 1579, Pūlād Khān, son of Pūlād Khān, in two undated and two dated 1580 and 1583, and Mīr 'Alī, Mahaldār Khān and Jamshīd, in one each, of 1585, 1604-05 and 1620-21 respectively¹. Of them, only Mahaldār Khān and Jamshīd Khān are known from historical works. From the above, it would appear that Aflātūn Khān was succeeded by Haibat Khān some time before 1577, and the latter was in turn succeeded by Pūlād Khān in about 1580. Then came Mīr 'Alī some time during 1583-1585.

We have not much information about the governors of Galna after this year. But some time before 1601, Sa'ādat Khān seems to have held charge of the region including the fort, for in the March of that year, this fort, one of the best in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, was surrendered by him to Khwājagī Fathu'llāh who appointed Ya'qūb Baig Shīghālī and Sa'īd Baig Badakhshi to its charge². But after about six months, in October-November 1601, Rājū Dakānī, a former official (*mahaldār*) of Sa'ādat Khān retook it³. Rājū defied the Mughal forces from his headquarters at Nasik. But it is not known if he posted any one at Galna.

The next Nizām Shāhī official who is mentioned in connexion with the Mughal-Nizām Shāhī skirmishes in the region is Mahaldār Khān, a subordinate of Rājū's rival, the more celebrated Malik 'Ambar. His connexion with Galna is not definitely known, but on the basis of his epigraph there, recording the construction of the tomb of Āqā Sulaimān in 1604-05 (Inscription No. IX, *infra*), it may be reasonably inferred that he was in charge of that place. This guess is further supported by the fact, also known from an epigraph (No. X, *infra*), that it was Malik 'Ambar who gave Galna to one Jamshīd, some time before 1620-21, the date of the said record. This may also mean that Mahaldār Khān was in charge of the region until the appointment of Jamshīd. It is not known how long the latter held Galna. It is difficult to say if the next commandant to find mention in historical works, viz. Mahmūd Khān had succeeded him or some body else. The latter had, during the last stages of the Nizām Shāhī resistance, hard pressed as he was by Malik 'Ambar's son Fath Khān against whom he had rebelled, intended to hand over the fort to Shāhjī Bhonsle, but was ultimately prevailed upon to surrender it to the Mughals on 7th October 1632⁴. Mahmūd was, thus, the last Nizām Shāhī official to command the Galna fort.

Of the ten Nizām Shāhī inscriptions studied below, as many as eight pertain to the time of Murtadā I (1565-88), and one each is dated in the reign of Murtadā II (1600-10) and Burhān III (1610-31). Incidentally, it may be pertinent to point out here that the chronology of the Nizām Shāhī kings has not been correctly established so far. Sir T. W. Haig was the first to publish the most reliable and complete list of the Deccan dynasties in his *Historical Land-marks of the Deccan*. The same was incorporated by him in the *Cambridge History of India*⁵. But the very existence of Burhān III was unknown to him. Also, his chronology is incorrect in some other respects too.

¹ Except for those dated 1569-70, 1577 and 1585, which were published in *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 13-16, these epigraphs are included for study in the present article.

² *Abu'l-Fadl, Akbar Nāma*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1887), p. 788.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 798-99. Abu'l-Fadl states that the agents of the two Mughal officials gave away the fort to Rājū in consideration of 2,000 *hōns* only.

⁴ *'Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhori, Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I, part 1 (Calcutta, 1867), pp. 442-44, Muhammād Sūlīh, *'Amal-Sūlīh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1923), pp. 505-07. Khāfi Khān, *Munīkhābu'l-Lubāb*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1869), p. 470, gives A.H. 1041 (1631), which is wrong. Also, in *BG*, XVI, Nasik District, the event is placed in 1634 and the commandant's name given as Muhammād Khān, which is incorrect. S. T. W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 704.

It was Dr Ghulām Yazdānī who established a new Nizām Shāhī ruler in Burhān III on the basis of his inscriptions¹. He also tried to revise Haig's chronology of the last three kings including Burhān III.² Then, Dr. M. Nā'īm corrected a few dates in a brief resume of the history of the dynasty in the course of his study of some inscriptions from Ahmadnagar and other places,³ but his chronology is also not without mistakes. Subsequently, Mr. V. S. Bendre wrote about the date of the death of Ahmad Nizām Shāh I.⁴

Despite these attempts to correct Haig's list, which was done piecemeal, we do not have a correct chronology of the Ahmadnagar kings. I have prepared one, after a close study of the findings of the above writers as well as of contemporary and later sources, and hope to publish it elsewhere shortly.

Murtadā Nizām Shāh I

I INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 974

So far twelve inscriptions of the reign of Murtadā I, have been published, and these range in their dates between A H 974 (1566-67) and A H. 995 (1586-87).⁵

Of his eight new inscriptions studied below, the first is fixed on the facade of the Iron gate of the Fort.⁶ The rectangular slab measuring 80 by 40 cm, is cut into three panels which contain three Persian couplets, the last panel containing also additional phrases of invocation to God by His attributes and the name of the composer who was also the scribe. The style of writing is *Naskh* of rather inelegant type, though the poetry of the verses is tolerably good. The record states that Aflātūn Khān laid the foundation of a very strong fortification in this fort and constructed a lofty and strong bastion in A H. 974 (1566-67). The date given in figure is 974, but the chronogram yields 978. It is therefore not possible in the absence of any other evidence to say if the figure represents Shuhūr year or Hijra one. Therefore, I have taken it to be in Hijra era.

The text, composed and written by Hūshī Shirāzī, has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(۱) بناء بناء افلاطون خانے دربن قلعه حصان سخن محکم
 (۲) دران برجے مهیا کرد ار سنگ که امثالش ندیده چشم عالم
 (۳) ز دفعت بربر از چرخ فلک بود ازان تاریخ شد چرخ فلک هم
 (۴) یا لطیف مسنه ۹۷۴ نا فتاح فابلد و راعمه هویے شیراری

TRANSLATION

(1) Aflātūn Khān laid the foundation of a very strong fortification in this fort.
 (2) In it, he constructed (lit. provided) a stone bastion, the like of which was not seen by the eye of the world.

¹ *ELM*, 1919-20, pp 12-14.

² *Ibid*, p. 13

³ *Ibid*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp 23.

⁴ *New Indian Antiquary*, vol IV (1941-42), pp 243-44.

⁵ *ELM*, 1919-20, p 22, *ibid*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp 20 21, 24, *ibid*, 1935-36, pp. 30, 37; *ibid*, 1939-40, p 30, *ELAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 13, 15, 16.

⁶ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1961-62, No D, 184.

(3) It was higher than the heavenly sphere, hence, its date also has come to be 'the heavenly sphere'.

(4) O Kind One! Year (A.H. ?) 974 (1566-67) O Opener! Its composer and writer is Hūshi Shirāzi.

It has been pointed out above that the chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the third couplet works out to 978, while the figure given is 974. In some inscriptions from the Deccan, Shuhūr year is given in words and the Hijra one in figure¹. Even if it is presumed that here a reverse practice is adopted, that is to say, the figure indicates Shuhūr year, the equivalent of Shuhūr 974 would be 981. Therefore, the figure may be taken as representing the Hijra year only, and the chronogram as defective.

Historical works are totally silent about both Aflātūn Khān and the composer Hūshi Shirāzi. Both of them are mentioned in another inscription from Galna, dated about three years earlier, which records some building activities of the former². Aflātūn Khān also finds mention in two more epigraphs, in the Fort, dated Shuhūr 970, A.H. 977 (1569-70) and A.H. 978 (1570-71), which will be studied presently. In two of the three records under reference, the phrase used before Aflātūn's name is *dar kārkard* which means that the inscriptions were set up in his time, i.e. governorship.³ It would, therefore, follow that Aflātūn Khān was the Nizām Shāhī governor in charge of the Galna fort (as well as, perhaps, of its dependencies) at least during the years 1566-71.

It may also be stated that the epigraph under study does not make any reference to the reigning king, but since his other inscriptions do, it was thought advisable to study it (as also four similar epigraphs) along with the rest. In this connexion, it may be noted that except in one of the remaining five inscriptions, the reigning king is not mentioned by name, but is merely referred to as king or Nizām Shāh.

II. INSCRIPTION DATED SHUHŪR 970

The second inscription which is bilingual, is fixed on the inner side of the fort-wall to the right of the Iron gate, at a distance of one third of the total length of the wall⁴. The arch-shaped slab measuring 54 by 54 cm. contains four lines of writing, in Arabic prose and Persian prose and verse, carved in relief in ordinary *Naskh* characters. The *Nāgari* version is incised in one line in the left and lower borders, the portion in the latter being badly damaged. The legible portion records the Arabic phrase for the year 970 and Šaka year 1491.⁵

The Arabic portion of the text contained in lines 1-2, is except for the year, unhistorical, being religious in content, and the text in Persian prose occurring in line 1 only refers to the governorship of Aflātūn Khān. The text in the remaining two lines comprises a fragment of two Persian couplets recording the date of the construction of the fort by the Khān, by whom evidently Aflātūn Khān is meant.

The year given in Arabic numerals is 970, also indicated in the *Nāgari* text सन सबईन व तिर्यक्या सके १४९१..... Now this version clearly gives the Šaka equivalent 1491, which shows that the year 970 is to be taken in the Shuhūr era and not in the Hijra one. The

¹ *EIAHS*, 1963, pp. 64, 65, 68.

² *Ibid.*, 1957 and 1958, p. 13.

³ The phrase *dar kārkard* has been generally translated as 'under the supervision of' which does not appear to be correct, particularly in the Deccan inscriptions. In Marāthi records, this very term is used to denote tenure of office.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 185.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. B, 471, where the Arabic phrase giving the date is not read.

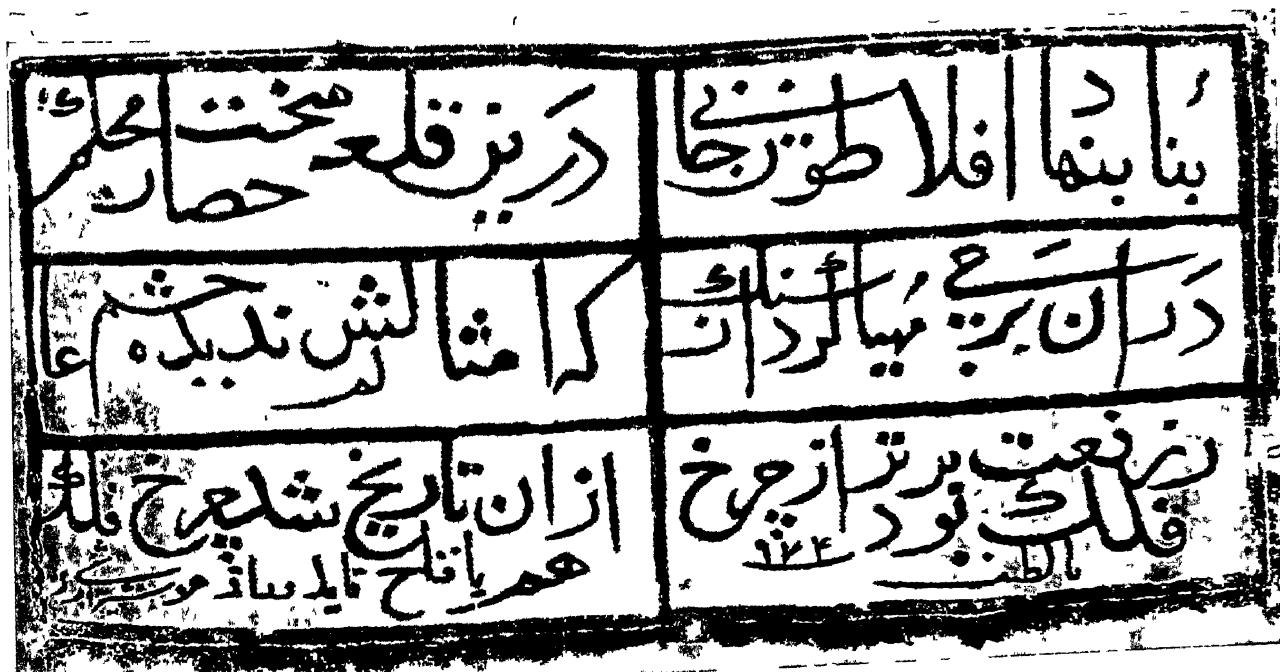
NIZĀM SHĀHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES XI-XV)

(a) Bilingual epigraph, dated Shuhūr 970, from Galna (p. 47)

SCALE 185

(b) Record of Mūtadā I, dated A H 971, same place (p. 45)



SCALE 175

chronogram yields 978, but as the difference of 1 in calculation is admissible both ways, according to the science of chronogram, the year may be 977, which could be taken as the Hijra equivalent, provided, as already stated above (p. 46), the figure 970 is taken to indicate the Shuhūr year. This would mean that the fort (*hisār*) was constructed in Shuhūr 970, A.H. 977, Saka 1491 (1569-70).

The text has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XI(a)

افلاطون خان	يا الله يا محمد يا علىه هو	(۱) درکار کرد
	۹۷۰ نصر من الله و فتح قریب	(۲)
که در دفع او هسب بربر ر مریع	بنا کرد ار لطف شه خان حصاره	(۳)
چه نیکو حصاریس مکم به ناریع	چو تاریخ سال ار حرد خواستم گفت	(۴)

TRANSLATION

(1) O Allāh, O Muḥammad, O 'Alī! He is [God]! During the time (i.e. governorship) of Aflātūn Khān.

(2) Help is from Allāh, and victory near¹ (Shuhūr) 970 (1569-70)

(3) Through the kindness of the king (Murtadā I), the Khān (i.e. Aflātūn Khān) constructed a fort, which is higher than Mars in loftiness.

(4) When I asked Wisdom about its date, it said 'what a beautiful and strong fort!' for its date

The chronogram contained in the last line seems to have meant to give the Hijra year. It yields 978, which may be taken to stand for 977, as explained above.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 978

The third inscription, which is also bilingual, is fixed on the western wall of the enclosure of the Spring called in the record 'Chashma-i-Khidr' (Spring of Prophet Khidr), which is situated to the north of the mosque in the Galna Fort.² The tablet is arch-shaped, measuring 71 cm. from apex to bottom and 68 cm. from left to right. The Persian version is inscribed in six lines in ordinary *Nasta'liq* style in relief. The first line contains only the date and the name of the Spring, 'Chashma-i-Khwāja-Khidr', and the remaining contain five couplets, composed by one Hakimī. The *Nāgarī* version is engraved in one line in the lower and right margin-borders, but the lettering is considerably damaged. It seems to contain only the date Saka 14[92] [Pra]moda, Pausha ba. [13], Monday (22nd January 1571).³

According to the Persian text, Aflātūn Khān constructed the Spring to perpetuate his memory among the people of the world, in A.H. 978 (1570-71). From the text, it transpires that the con-

¹ *Qur'ān*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

² *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 190.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B, 473

truction referred to was not confined to the masonry steps, etc. of the Spring and a four-walled enclosure around it only, but the Spring was excavated by the Khān. The date is given both in figure and by chronogram.

The composer of the metrical text is one Hakīmī. It has not been possible to trace any information about him, but very likely it was he who had composed the text of another inscription, containing the chronogram for the death of Ghālib Khān, a Nizām Shāhī official, which took place in A.H. 977.¹

I have deciphered the text as follows —

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

چشمہ خواہ خضر	۹۷۸ میں سے	(۱)
نگانہ بدر آورد چشمہ چو نبات		(۲) چو لطف حق شدہ شامل بحال افلاطون
جبات یابد ار ان آب چشمہ اهل معات		(۳) ز حوض کوثر و حد نشانہ دارد
کہ [ز] زد خلق [بما] نہ نشانہ بھر نبات		(۴) زدی حکمت خود ساخت چشمہ افلاطون
بنای آن طلب [از] چشمہ زار آب حیات		(۵) ر بھر سال لنا چون طلب کنی ناریح
بیابد ار در حق نا بروز حشر نبات		(۶) حک[ی] میا بدعا خنم کن کہ افلاطون

TRANSLATION

(1) In the year (A.H.) 978 (1570-71). The Spring of (Prophet) Khwāja Khidr.

(2) When Aflātūn was favoured with Divine kindness, he excavated (lit. brought out) at Gāhā a spring (of sweet water) like sugar-candy.

(3) It bears a sign of the tank of Kauthar and Paradise; by that water of the spring, (even) the dead are revived.

(4) Out of wisdom, Aflātūn constructed the spring, so that it may endure among the people as (his) perpetual mark.

(5) Since you ask for the year of its construction, seek it in (the words) 'place abounding in springs of the Water of Life'.

(6) O Hakīmī! End (these verses now) with a prayer that may Aflātūn attain salvation till the day of retribution from the threshold of God!

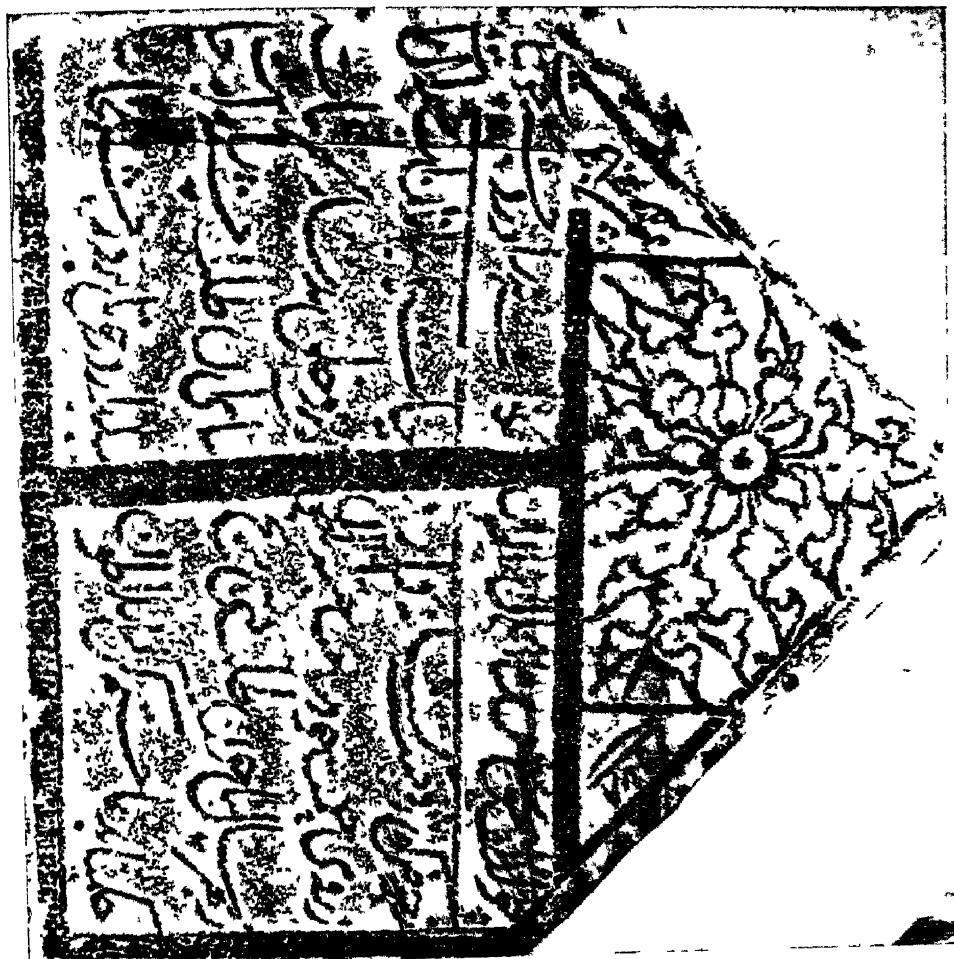
IV INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 987

The tablet bearing the fourth inscription in the Fort is fixed on the wall to the right of the same Iron gate.² Measuring 72 cm. by 1.1 m., it contains thirteen lines of Persian prose and verse carved

¹ *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 9, where, however, it did not occur to Dr. M. Nazim who edited it that Hakīmī was the *nom-de-plume* of the composer. For the identity of Ghālib Khān, see *ibid.*, 1939-40, pp. 47-48.

² One or two seem to have been left out by the engraver.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 189.



(a) Bulmugil (cont. dated AH 978, from Gahvi (p. 48)

(b) Inscription, dated AH 987, same place (p. 49)



SCALE : 155

SCALE 11

in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. The metrical text of five couplets is an ill-feigned attempt at versification, rendering it difficult for the reader to catch up with the drift of the composer's purport. It appears to state that a palace was constructed in the fort of Galna, and a bastion which was constructed earlier but was not very strong, was reinforced with stone. It also seems to record that the palace was built for the king and it was liked by all. It names Haibat Khān as the builder in the last couplet. The text was inscribed by Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Husainī, on the 1st Rabi' I 987 (28th April 1579).

Haibat Khān, who appears to be the next commander of the fort of Galna, after Afātūn Khān, during the reign of Murtadā I, is like his predecessor unknown to history. But he also has to his credit one more record, a fragmentary and bilingual one, at Galna itself, its epigraphical tablet is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is dated A.H. 985 (1577-78) and mentions him as Haibat Khān Habashi Nizām Shāhī. The *Nāgarī* text clearly refers to him as the *thānādar* of the fort¹. Incidentally, the text of the record under study, which also refers to a bastion constructed earlier, may be taken to suggest that the fragmentary inscription of A.H. 985 (1577-78) under reference, pertained to a bastion built by Haibat Khān.

As regards the scribe Sayyid Ismā'il also, we have no information. Two more records in the Fort were inscribed by him as will be seen presently. In one of these two records, which was also composed by him, he lays a claim to poetical talent. In view of the mediocre quality of verse in the present record, it would not be surprising, if it was also composed by him. He does not appear to have been even a tolerably good calligraphist either.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(۱) هو (۱)

- (۲) برج مراد گشته ز لطف و پناه عزت
- (۳) نامن نومی پسندی و ظفرش بده بدولت
- (۴) در قلعه گالنه هم قصری مراد باشد
- (۵) تازین خجسته فصری یا بند خلق نصرت
- (۶) درجے که ساخت اول چندان نبود محکم
- (۷) زان دو بسنگ بست ازان سد مکرمت
- (۸) منزل که کرد بنائی در قلعه گشت مقبول
- (۹) سد تمام منزل ز بهر شاه ظرفت
- (۱۰) پاری چنین برونق بک ساخت یادگاری
- (۱۱) دادا همبشه نامی از کرد خان هیبت

(١٢) كاتب العبد سيد اسماعيل ابن سيد مناحسيني

(١٣) تاريخ غرة شهر ربى الاول سنة ٩٨٢

TRANSLATION

- (1) He is (Allāh)!
- (2) The Murād bastion was constructed through the support and protection of honour.
- (3) If you like its name, then (lit. and) grant it victory and (lit. in) prosperity
- (4) There should also be a Murād palace in the Galna fort,
- (5) so that the people may obtain help from that (lit. this) auspicious palace
- (6) The bastion which was constructed earlier (by him?), was not very strong.
- (7) Hence, it was reinforced with stone and it thus attained respectability.
- (8) The palace (lit. house) constructed in the fort became popular.
- (9) It was completed for the sake of the victorious king.
- (10) Since, he has constructed such a beautiful memento,
- (11) may it always be famous, on account of its being constructed by Haibat Khān
- (12) Written by the creature Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Husainī,
- (13) on the 1st day of the month of Rabi' I, year 987 (28th April 1579).

V INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 988

The fifth record of this group is fixed over the entrance of the Dargāh of Pīr Polad (Pūlād) in the village of Galna¹. The slab, measuring 19 by 75 cm, is fixed length-wise above the door and contains fifteen lines of writing carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. The text comprises a poetical fragment of 5 couplets written in ten lines (3-12), preceded by two lines of religious matter. In the last three lines occur the name of the composer and scribe, the above-mentioned Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Husainī, and the date. This epigraph shows that Sayyid Ismā'il had adopted Sayyid as his poetical name. The reference to the help of Shāh Mardān, i.e. 'Alī, may also indicate him to be a follower of the Shī'a creed. As in the case of the previous inscription, the text presents yet another example of mediocre versification. It is worse than prose.

The text pretends to give an eulogistic description of the tomb and its surroundings—the 'resplendent tomb' is stated to be 'popular in the fort' (p. 52) by which perhaps, 'venerated' is meant, and to have been surrounded by 'verdant trees and lofty edifices'. It assigns the construction to Pūlād Khān. It is dated 15th Sha'bān 988 (25th September 1580).

It will be noted that the text does not mention the name of the person on whose remains the tomb was constructed. Locally, the tomb is called Dargāh of Pīr Pōlād, which could as well have been derived from the name of the builder Pūlād, occurring in the text. It does not appear to be likely that his own tomb was constructed in his life-time by Pūlād Khān, since the trend of the purport, as far as it can be judged from the phrases 'auspicious', 'resplendent' etc., used for the tomb, would suggest that it was built over the remains of some one who had already died. Could

PLATE XIII

(b) Undated record of Pūlād Khān,
same place (p. 54)

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 988,
from Galna (p. 51)

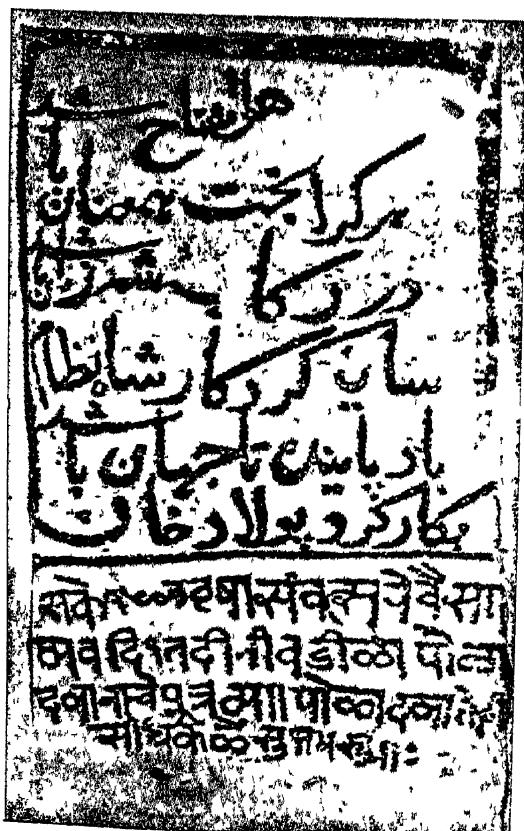


SCALE . 19



SCALE . 21

(c) Epigraph, dated Saka 1503,
same place (p. 53)



SCALE . 15

that some one be Pūlād Khān's father, also entitled Pūlād Khān, mentioned as Pūlād Khān Senior, in the bilingual inscription to be studied next? Incidentally, one Pīr Pūlād has been mentioned in a copper-plate issued in 1017 (1608), registering the grant of the village Akāī in *pargāna* Gālna by (?) Pīr Polād to certain persons for cultivating the lands (belonging to the dargāh)?¹ Unfortunately, the language of this grant is not quite definite. But it is clear that if the grant is genuine, Pīr Pūlād mentioned therein cannot be identical with the person, Pīr Pūlād or any body else, occupying the tomb at Galna. In any case, it is a reasonable surmise that the tomb was constructed by Pūlād khān the son, for Pūlād Khān the father.

I have failed to trace any reference to Pūlād Khān, the builder, in the chronicles available to me. No doubt, 'Alī Tabatabā mentions one Fūlād (Pūlād) Khān as a nobleman of Ahmad Nīzām Shāh I and his son Burhān I.² But he could not have lived so long. Then, one Pūlād Khān is mentioned in an inscription from Kandahar in Nander district of Maharashtra. It is dated 1566-67, in the reign of Murtadā Nīzām Shāh.³ In case, both are one and the same person, it would mean that Pūlād Khān was transferred from Qandhar to Galna some time before 1580, the date of the record under study, probably in succession to Haibat Khān Habashī.

The text of the epigraph has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

(۱) هو الفناح

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) اين دوچه مبارڪ در فلجه گشته مقبول

(۴) اين داره يحسنه آراسته شد قبول

(۵) آن شجرهای سبز و اين طرفه سند مقامی

(۶) آن قصرهای عالی دارند عجب اوصول

(۷) اين دوچه منور دارد تمام دونق

(۸) از دوی اين عمارت نوری بشد نزول

(۹) اركرد خان پولاد اين شد عجب نشان

(۱۰) تا نزد خلو باشد اين منزلس(?) قبول

(۱۱) سيد بگفت ثنا شد شرح اين منازل

(۱۲) از لطف ساه مردان اين روضه اس قبول

¹ EIM, 1913-14, pp. 5-10, pl. II

² Tabatabā, *et. cit.*, pp. 238, 240

³ EIM, 1919-20, p. 22.

الْبَدْ نَمْ سَامَ كَفَّارَ كَابَ

(١٣) سَيِّدُ اسْمَاعِيلُ اَنْ سَيِّدُ مِنْهَا حَسْبِيٌّ^١ تَحْرِيرًا فِي

(١٤) الْمَارِبَخُ پَانِزِدَهُمْ شَهْرُ شَعْبَانَ الْمُعْطَمُ سَنَةُ ٩٨٨

TRANSLATION

- (1) He is the Opener !
- (2) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful
- (3) This auspicious tomb became popular (venerated ?) in the fort,
- (4) (and) the region has become adorned through its beauty
- (5) Those verdant trees and this wonderful spot,
- (6) those lofty buildings, all these, have wonderful foundations.
- (7) This illuminated tomb possesses utmost splendour,
- (8) (and) from the face of this building, light is diffused.
- (9) This wonderful memento is the work of Pūlād Khān,
- (10) so that this edifice (constructed) by him may become popular among (lit. accepted by) the people.
- (11) Sayyid has eulogised and described these edifices
- (12) May this tomb (built by) him become popular (lit. accepted) through the favour of Shah-i-Mardān (i.e. Hadrat 'Alī) !
- (13) Came to end the speech of the writer, the creature,
- (14) Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Mañā Husainī. Written
- (15) on the 15th of the month of Sha'bān, year 988 (25th September 1580)

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED SAKA 1503

The sixth inscription forms the second record of Pūlād Khān. Its tablet, measuring 35 by 60 cm., is fixed on the wall to the right of the Iron gate,² a short distance to the left of Inscription No. V. This again is a bilingual record consisting of ten lines of writing of which six are in Persian and four in Marāthī. The Persian text is carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters, and the Marāthī portion, in *Nāgarī*.³ The Persian version does not contain any date. It merely

¹ This phrase is engraved in the preceding line on the stone,

² *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 188.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B, 472.

comprises two couplets containing a prayer for the long life of the Nizām Shah and a reference to the governorship of Pūlād Khān. The Marāthī portion, on the other hand, contains a little more historical information apart from the date, which is Śaka 1503, Vrishā Vaiākha ba. 1 (19 April 1581). It refers to the construction of some structure by Khān Pūlād Khān and also gives the name of his father as Pūlād Khān, the elder.

The text has been read as follows.—

TEXT

Plate XIII (c)

(۱) هو الفتاح

(۲) هر کرا بخت همعنان باشد

(۳) دد رکاب شه زمان ناشد

(۴) سانه کردگار شاه نظام

(۵) باد پاینده تا جهان باشد

(۶) بکار کرد پولاد خان

TRANSLATION

- (1) He is the Opener !
- (2) He, who is supported by good fortune,
- (3) follows the king of the world.
- (4) May the shadow of the Omnipotent God Nizām Shah (Murtadā I)
- (5) last till the world exists !
- (6) During the regime of Pūlād Khān.

TEXT

- (1) सके १५०३ वृषा संवत्सरे वैसा
- (2) ख वदि १ तदीनी वडीला पोळा
- (3) द खानाचे पूत्र खा । पोळादखा ते ही
- (4) सीध केळे । सुभमस्तु ॥

TRANSLATION

(1-4) On this day, the first of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year Vrishā, in Saka 1503 (19 April 1581), Khān Pūlād Khān himself, the son of the elder Pūlād Khān, accomplished (this). May (there) be prosperity !

The importance of this record in establishing the period of Pūlād Khān's governorship as well as in supplying the important information about Pūlād Khān's father, has already been pointed out above. As stated above, the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* mentions one Fūlād (Pūlād) Khān as a noble of Ahmad Nizām Shāh I and Burhān I. It is likely that he is identical with Pūlād Khān Senior, of our epigraph.¹

VII UNDATED INSCRIPTION OF PŪLĀD AN

The tablet inscribed with the third record of Pūlād Khān and the seventh of this article, is built into the wall to the left of the Iron gate.² It measures 38 by 40 cm and contains six lines of writing in Persian prose and verse, carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* style. It records that a bastion was constructed in the Galna *kot*, during the time of Pūlād Khān. The date of construction or writing is not mentioned. But it is quite likely that it is supplementary to the preceding inscription in which no mention of the object of construction was made. If that be so, this epigraph also must have been set up some time about April 1580.

The text of this epigraph was also written by Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Mañā Husainī. It has been read as follows —

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱) هو العزيز

(۲) بکوب گالنه برجی ننا سد

(۳) بدور اکرمی پولاد حان شد

(۴) نوشته سد خط خادم اهل بیت

(۵) رسول الله سید اسماعیل ان

(۶) سید مناحسینی

TRANSLATION

(1) He is the Glorious !

(2) In the *kot* of Galna, a bastion was built ;

(3) it was during the time of the generous Pūlād Khān.

¹ *Tabātabā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 246

² *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. 1, 187.

- (4) It was written by the servant of the house of
- (5) the Prophet of Allāh, Sayyid Ismā'īl, son of
- (6) Sayyid Mañā Husainī.

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 991

The next record from the Fort is engraved on a tablet measuring 76 by 54 cm, which is built up into the side wall of the Iron gate, to the left of No. VII above¹

This record is also bilingual. The Persian portion consists of seven lines of writing, carved in relief in *Naskh* characters and records that Pūlād Khān Ghāzī constructed a bastion in the Galna fort. It was written by Zahīr Muhammad in Rabi' I 991 (March 1583).

The Marāthī portion is carved in relief in one line below the Persian text and merely contains the date, Saka 1505, Subhānu, Chaitra su 1, Thursday, which fell on the 14th March 1583.² The Persian record, thus, must have been engraved on about the 1st Rabi' I 991.

Pūlād Khān's name is written in the text as Fūlād Khān which is just a way of writing it after the fashion of Arabic which has no *p* sound, and need not be attached any significance. What is more important here is the fact that the record extends the period of his charge of Galna fort by at least about two years. Now, as we have already seen above, he must have been succeeded by Mir 'Alī some time in or before A. H. 993 (1585).

But the epigraph has very important bearing on the significance of the word Shuhūr in indicating the era of that name. It is generally accepted that the term 'Shuhūr-i-Sana', at least in the inscriptions of the Deccan, should be taken to indicate Shuhūr era, when the month also occurs therein.³ But that this view may not be correct in all cases is proved by the present epigraph. Here the date given is 'Rabi' I in the Shuhūr-i-Sana 991 and Saka 1505, Subhānu, Chaitra su 1. Now the term 'Shuhūr-i Sana', along with which the month is mentioned, cannot be taken in any sense other than its literary meaning of 'the months of the year', because the corresponding Saka year's equivalent will only be A. H. 991 (almost to the day and month). If Shuhūr era were intended, the year would be Shuhūr 991 which corresponded with Saka 1512 only. And there is no sufficient reason that may account for the gap of about seven years in the dates of the two versions. It may be mentioned that the Saka date is absolutely clear.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

مناضي	برح	بک	گله	بلعده	(۱) هو
غازي	خان	فولاد	بنمود	نما	(۲)



¹ ARIE, 1961-62, No. D, 186

² Ibid., No. B, 470.

³ Dr M. Nāzīm, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India Memoirs, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), p. 94; EIM, 1939-40, p. 12.

(۲۳) مرتب سد ز همت ساه مردان
 (۲۴) همیشه ناد قاسم و کارسار
 (۲۵) کانب عبد العفیر ظهیر محمد فی التاریخ من شهر دیع
 (۲۶) الاحد شهور سنہ احدی نسعین و سعماہ

TRANSLATION

(1) He is !

(2-3) In the fort of Gālna, the foundation of an enduring bastion was laid down by Fūlād (i.e. Pūlād) Khān Ghāzī.(4) It was completed through the favour of Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e. 'Alī)

(5) May it be everlasting and serviceable !

(6) The writer (is) the needy creature Zāhir Muhammād. In the month of Rabi'

(7) One, of the months of the year (A.H.) one (and) ninety and nine hundred (Rabi' I A. H. 991=March 1583).

The scribe Zāhir Muhammād is untraceable. But it was he who wrote the Galna inscription of Haibat Khān mentioned above.¹

Murtadā Nizām Shāh II

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1013

The only epigraph in this group whose date falls in the reign of Murtadā II, is fixed on the southern end of the western wall of the tomb locally known as Wazīr's tomb in the village, very near the Dargāh of Pīr Polād.² The inscriptional slab, measuring 47 by 53 cm., contains five Persian couplets, carved in relief in as many lines in *Nasta'liq* characters. The quality of the poetry is of a fairly high order and perhaps the best in the present study. As a matter of fact, Mashqī was one of the talented Persian poets who had flocked to the court of the Nizām Shāh and other rulers of the Deccan. Then again, the calligraphy of the record is excellent. The *Nasta'liq* style of this epigraph can rank among the best specimens of that style, whether on paper or on stone. It is a pity that the calligrapher has not disclosed his name.

The text purports that Āqā Sulaimān, 'the like of whom in manliness and fortitude, none in the world remembers to have known' was killed by an enemy, and the great Khān Mahaldār Khān constructed a tomb over his grave in A. H. 1013 (1604-05). The date is afforded by a chronogram.

I have failed to trace any reference to Āqā Sulaimān, the deceased, in the historical works available to me. But he appears to have been a man of distinction, not only because the text

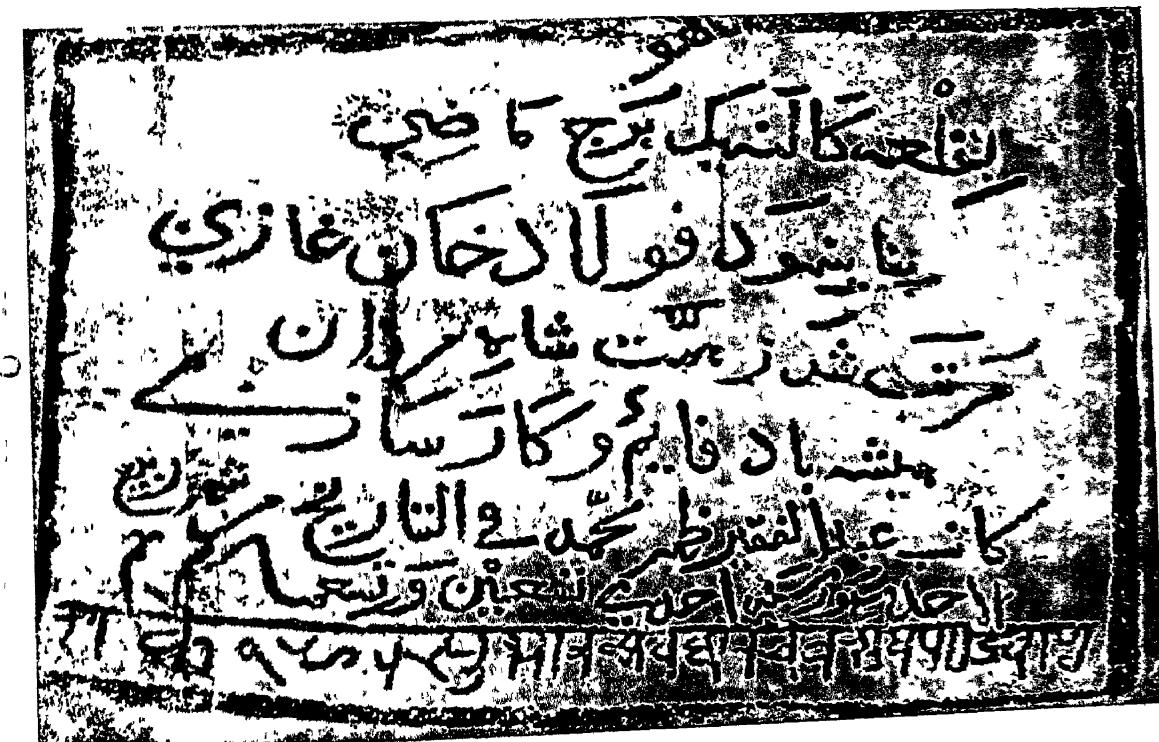
¹ *E.I.* 1957 and 1958, p. 16.² *A.R.I.* 1931-32, No. D, 178.

Inscription of Murtadā II, dated A H 1013, from Galna (p. 57)



SCALE .15

(b) Inscription, dated A H 991, same place (p 55)



SCALE 1

showers high praises upon him, but also because a great Nizām Shāhī nobleman thought fit to construct his tomb.

About Mahaldār Khān, the difficulty is of another nature. There were both the father and son who enjoyed this title in the court of the Nizām Shāhī kings. Mahaldār Khān, the father, is stated to have been a grandee of Circassian origin and held high position. Unfortunately, the date of his death is not known. Therefore, it is difficult to say which of the two, father or son, took part in the skirmishes between the Mughal army and Malik 'Ambar's forces reported in contemporary chronicles in the events of the year 1615-16.¹ The son is reported to have succeeded to the title of his father on his death, but unfortunately, neither the name of the king nor the date of the death is quoted.² In the middle of 1634, he entered the services of the Mughal emperor and was granted fief in Bihar. In about February 1636, he was again sent to Deccan along with Sayyid Khān-i-Zamān against 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.³

In any case, if the chronogram has been correctly understood, as it has most probably been,⁴ the date of the construction i.e. 1604-05, should indicate that Mahaldār referred to therein is the father and not the son. For, he had more occasion to be at Galna than his son and must have been in charge of the region about this time.

The writing of the epigraph is slightly damaged due to the weathering of the stone. But the text is quite legible. It has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(۱) چو آقا سلیمان کسی دد حهان بمردی و جراب ندارد بیاد
 (۲) چو دور ھیاٹش تا خر رسید ز زخم معاند ز پا در وناد
 (۳) بنا کرد بر تربیش گنبدی سر سروردان خان عالی نژاد
 (۴) سپهار مروب محلدار خان که چون او خلف ام گینی براد
 (۵) چو از مشقی خواست ناریخ گفت که آقا سلیمان بحیث رساد

TRANSLATION

(1) Nobody in the world remembers anyone like Āqā Sulaimān in manliness and fortitude.

(2) Since the period of his life came to an end, he fell off his feet from a blow of the enemy.

¹ Jahāngir, *Tuzuk-e-Jahāngir*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad (Aligarh, 1864), p 153, 'Abdu'l Bāqī Nahāwandi, *Ma'āz-i-Jahāngir*, vol II (Calcutta, 1925), pp 622-623, 638-639, etc.

² 'Abdu'l Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 526, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āz-i-Umarā*, vol III (Calcutta, 1891), p. 419

³ For details, see 'Abdu'l Hamid, *op. cit.*, part II, pp 14, 140, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, pp 419-21.

⁴ The conjunction *که* in the second hemistick of the last couplet is not taken by me to be a part of the chronogram. If it is, the date would be A. H. 1038 (1628-29).

(34) Over his grave, the chief among the chiefs, the Khān of noble lineage, the sky of generosity, Mahaldār Khān, like whom the mother-earth did not beget, constructed a tomb.

(5) When Mushfiqī was asked for its date, he said, 'May Āqā Sulaimān attain paradise!'

The chronogram constituting the benedictory phrase works out to A.H. 1013 (1604-05). I do not think that the conjunction *ki* forms part of the chronogram, as has been stated in the preceding lines.

Burhān Nizām Shāh III

X INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1030

The last inscription of the present study belongs to the reign of Burhān III. The three slabs bearing this record measure 64 by 28 cm. each and are fixed on the north, south and west faces of the pillar of the left outer arch of the only mosque in the Fort¹. Each of the slab is inscribed with two Persian couplets, and the text starts from that on the northern face and continues on the western and southern faces. Thus comprising six couplets in all, which are composed by one Abu'l-Fadl, the text records in a chronogram that the mosque was built in A.H. 1030 (1620-21) on the site of a ruined mosque by Jamshīd who also repaired a reservoir which too was lying desolate nearby.

The builder Jamshīd Khān is stated in the text to have received the fort (of Galna) from Malik 'Ambar, the *vakil* of Burhān Nizām Shāh (i.e. III). From the style of the text, the appointment appears to have taken place not long before the date of the record. In other words, Jamshīd Khān may have come to Galna not long before 1620.

This epigraph is a valuable document. It is one more record of Burhān III, of whom only six records were known so far². It also provides one more name in the incomplete list of the governors of the Galna fort and neighbourhood. It is also remarkable for its calligraphy which is a fine specimen of *Nasta'līq* style.

I have read the text as under.—

TEXT

Plate XV

(a) *North face.*

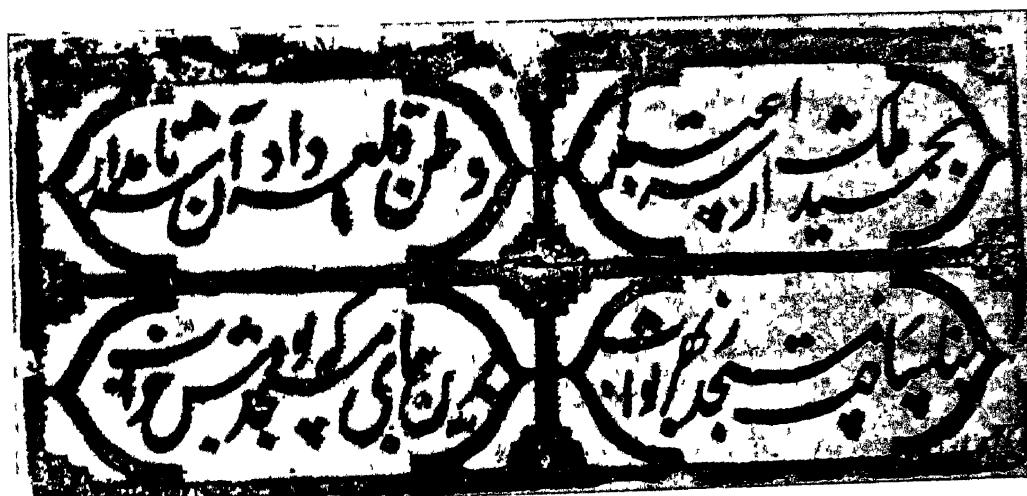
(۱) بنام خداوند بیت الحرام که اقبال داده به برهان نظام

(۲) و کیل شمنشہ کشود کسانے ملک عرب بود باعدل و دله

¹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No D, 193.

² *EIM*, 1919-20, pp. 12, 14; *ibid*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 22, *ibid*, 1949, 50, p. 6.

Record of Burhān III, dated A H 1030, from Galna (p 58)



The style of writing is the usual *Riqāq*-type *Naskh* of excellent quality. The text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XV(b)

(a) Within the arch.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(b) Margin.

[إِلَهُ لَا إِلَهُ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سَنَةٌ وَلَا نُومٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذِي الْذِي يُشَفَّعُ عَنْهُ إِلَّا بِأَنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يَحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مَنْ عَلِمَهُ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسَعْيُهُ كَرْسِيُّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَلَا يَوْمَهُ حَفْظُهُمَا وَ[هُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ]

(c) Horizontal panels

(١) سَمْمُ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

- (٢) بِبَيْسِرْهُمْ رَبِّهِمْ بِرَحْمَةِ مِنْهُ وَرَضْوَانُهُ وَحَنَّاتُ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ
- (٣) مَقِيمٌ خَالِدُ الْبَنِينَ فِيهَا إِبْدَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَنْهُمْ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ
- (٤) هَذَا قَبْرُ الْعَدُدِ الْضَّعِيفِ التَّحِيفِ الرَّاجِيِّ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
- (٥) صَدَرَ الْمَيْجَارُ مَفْخُرُ الْأَكَارِ وَالْأَحْرَادِ حَوْاجِهُ أَصْبَلَ إِنَّ عُمَرَ ابْنَ سَعْدِ الدِّينِ
- ٦ إِلَّا [..] إِلَى نَعِيمِهِ اللَّهِ بِرَحْمَةِ وَاسْكَنَهُ فِي دَارِ الْجَنَانِ تَوْفِيَ يَوْمَ
- (٧) الْأَحَدِ الثَّامِنِ مِنَ الْمُحْرَمِ مَسْلِهِ ثَمَانٌ وَسَعْيَنِ وَسَعْيَانَةٍ
- (٨) حَمَدَ اللَّهُ وَمَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَصَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ وَالسَّلَامُ

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) First Creed ¹

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255 ²

(c) (1) *Basmala* ³

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22 ⁴

(4) This is the grave of the weak and infirm creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Exalted *Allāh*,

(5) the chief of the merchants, pride of the great and the free-born, *Khwāja Asil* son of 'Umar son of *Sa'du'd-Din*

(6) *al-...i*, may *Allāh* cover him with (His) mercy and settle him in the abode of Paradise. He died on Sun-

(7) day, the eighth of (the month of) Muharram (of the) year (A.H.) eight and ninety and seven hundred (8 Muharram 798=23 October 1395)

(8) Praise be to *Allāh* and salutations on His apostle Muhammad. And salutation and peace.

¹ For translation, see p. 6

² For translation, see p. 10

³ For translation, see p. 8

⁴ For translation, see p. 12.

West face.

(۱) بجمشید ملک از سر اعبداد وطن قلعه داد آن سر نامدار
 - برسن جای مسجد که بودش خراب - (۲) بنا ساخت مسجد و بهر ثواب

(c) South face.

(۱) یکی برکه بد در فضای خراب همی کرد نعمبر پر سد ز آب
 (۲) دعائے ز ابوالفضل نادین باد که آمرزش ار حو بجمشید باد

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the name of the Lord of the sacred house (i.e. Ka'ba), who has bestowed good fortune on Burhān Nizām (III),

(2) the prime-minister (*vakīl*) of the victorious emperor, was the just and wise Malik 'Ambar.

(b) (1) Out of confidence, that illustrious chief (i.e. Malik 'Ambar), gave the fort (of Galna) in fief (*waqfān*) to the Jamshīd of the kingdom

(2) He constructed a mosque, for seeking reward, on this (very) site of a mosque which was desolate.

(c) (1) In the neighbourhood was a ruined reservoir which he reconstructed, and it became full of water.

(2) Let this prayer of Abu'l-Fadl be its date, that 'may Jamshīd be forgiven by God!'

The date afforded by the chronogram is A. H. 1030 (1620-21)

Malik 'Ambar, the Nizām Shāhī minister, is too well-known to need any mention here. But not much is known about Jamshīd, who was appointed the governor of the Galna fort by him. Now we know that one 'Abdu'l-Latīf entitled Jamshīd Khān was a relation of Malik 'Ambar, who ultimately went over to the Mughals on the 19th September 1629 and received the rank of 1000, 1500 horse.¹ In all probability, he is identical with Jamshīd of our record. The particular mention of 'Ambar's having granted the fort to Jamshīd in whom the former had full confidence, is quite significant. It can be reasonably interpreted to mean that he was a near relation of 'Ambar. If the above identification is correct, it may mean that Jamshīd Khān had continued in the command of the Galna fort until his crossing over to the Mughals in 1629. We may further hazard a guess that about this time when 'Ambar's son Fath Khān was imprisoned by Burhān III, Jamshīd Khān might have been ousted, and the Galna fort occupied by Mahmūd Khān, whose being in command of the fort in 1632 has already been mentioned above (p. 44).

¹ 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, *op. cit.*, part i, pp. 269, 299

Likewise, the composer Abu'l-Fadl may be identical with Qādī Abu'l-Fadl who, later on, in 1632, carried out the negotiations on behalf of Mahmūd Khān with the Mughal general Khān-i-Zamān, resulting in Mahmūd Khān's surrender of the fort.¹ Abu'l-Fadl appears to have been a local man in the state service and probably continued in the same capacity at Galna during the Mughal occupation as well.

Incidentally, the ruined mosque, completely rebuilt by Jamshīd, is very likely to have been the one for which Dastūr Khān had endowed an inn in 1489-90.²

¹ 'Abdu'l-Hamid, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 443.

² *EIM*, 1929-30, pp. 5-6.

TWO EPITAPHS FROM HYDERABAD CITY

By M. F. KHAN

Epigraphical Assistant

It is our sad experience that the scholars interested in historical research are not making sufficient use of the epigraphical material, particularly on the Arabic and Persian side, which is being brought to light from time to time. It is understandable that they cannot embark upon any large-scale exploration and search of these epigraphs themselves. But what is rather inexplicable is why cannot they utilize the published material on these. Even the Gazetteer Revision Units in most of the States do not care to utilise the epigraphical publications, which could otherwise provide them with important and, what is more, authentic, information on the matters of India's past.

The result is that though some very interesting inscriptions have come to light in recent years, few scholars seem to know about it even. The two epitaphs from Hyderabad, which are the subject matter of this article, are two of the many such historical records. These epitaphs were discovered as long back as in 1922-23 and published immediately thereafter,¹ but have more or less failed to attract the attention of the scholars, so far as my knowledge goes.

The credit of discovering these two epitaphs goes to the late Mr S. A. A. Bilgrāmī, then Assistant Secretary to H. E. H. the Nizām's Government, Judicial, Police and General Departments, who held temporary charge as the Director of Archaeology of the Hyderabad State during 1922-24, when Dr Ghulām Yazdānī was on a study-tour abroad. During his tenure, Mr. Bilgrāmī, it seems, had made it a point to 'hunt for fresh inscriptions, in the ruined cemeteries of forgotten ages' in Hyderabad,² and was, one must acknowledge, responsible for bringing to light some interesting unpublished inscriptions from that city. It was during one of these excursions made to unearth the past that the graves of an eminent Qutb Shāhī nobleman, Khairat Khān and his son were discovered by him by chance in the Rifā'i graveyard, near the Gowlipūra gate of the city, while he was engaged in finding out the grave of Sayyid Muzaffar.³

Mr. Bilgrāmī published the texts of both the epitaphs which unfortunately do not reveal anything much about their subject, beyond recording their names and dates of death. He also added a valuable note on the career of Khairat Khān, prepared on the basis of some unpublished works and published inscriptions which were set up by Khairat Khān.⁴ But Mr. Bilgrāmī could not decipher the date-figure correctly, with the result that the year of the death—same in both the cases—was advanced by more than a decade than was actually the case. Moreover, he has not illustrated these records which are remarkable for their beautiful calligraphy. It was, therefore, deemed necessary in the interest of historical research to correct the date and republish these epigraphs with their facsimiles.

¹ S. A. A. Bilgrāmī, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927), pp. 58-59. Mr. Bilgrāmī's work was first published in Urdu under the title *Ma'āqib-i-Dakān*.

² *Ibid.*, introduction.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

Each of the two slabs is also inscribed on the reverse with religious texts. Since as such, these inscriptions on the reverse do not contain any historical information, they are not included in this article. Incidentally, they are of the same highly artistic execution¹.

The epitaphs are reported to have been engraved on the headstones of two graves contained in a large tomb built on an elevated platform inside the necropolis of the Rifi'is within the Gowh-pura gate of the city. The grave in the adjoining smaller tomb is said to contain the remains of the wife of Khairat Khan, but it does not contain any inscription².

The smaller of the two graves, situated in the centre of the tomb, belongs to Khairat Khan's son who had predeceased his father, also buried by his side, by about six months. The arch-shaped tablet fixed at its head measures 30 by 50 cm and is inscribed on both sides in elegant Thuluth script, which is of high order. Unfortunately, the scribe who must have been a calligraphist of great merit, has not mentioned his name, which is a pity. The excellent calligraphy, which can easily match with the best specimens to be found not only at Hyderabad but elsewhere as well, is sufficient to show that its artist was a high-ranking calligrapher of his time.

The obverse of the slab contains a five-line text, the major portion of which is devoted to the Shute *durūd*³. The obituary proper, which is engraved in a thinner hand, but of almost the same artistic quality, occurs in the second part of the last line, and records that the death of Bābā 'Abdu'llāh, son of Khairat Khan, took place on the 5th Rabi' II 1055 (21st May 1645). Mr. Bilgrāmi read the year as A. H. 1066, which is wrong⁴.

The language of the religious text is Arabic, while that of the obituary, Persian. The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(١) اللهم صل على النَّسَاءِ
 (٢) وَالْوَصِيَّ وَالْبَنْوَلُ وَالسَّدَطِينُ وَالسَّجَادُ
 (٣) وَالْبَاقِرُ وَالصَّادُوْرُ وَالْكَاظِمُ
 (٤) وَالرَّصَادُ وَالْقَفَّةُ وَالنَّقَّةُ وَالرَّكَّةُ
 (٥) وَالْمَهْدَى عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ وَفَاتَ مَعْوُرِي نَانَا عَنْدَ اللَّهِ بْنِ حِيرَانَ حِيرَانَ بِعِجَمِ مَلَهَ
 دِيْنُ اللَّهِ سَنَةُ ١٠٥٥

TRANSLATION

(1-5) Shute *durūd*⁵

(5) The death of pardoned Bābā 'Abdu'llāh, son of Khairat Khan, (occurred on) the 5th of the month of Rabi'u'th-Thānī (A. H.) 1055 (21st May 1645)

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 3, 5.

² Bilgrāmi, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 4. The reverse contains the Quranic chapter XCVII inscribed in the same hand (ibid., No. 5).

⁴ Bilgrāmi, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁵ For a translation of the most popular version of the Shute *durūd*, please see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1915-16, p. 26.

It will be observed from the illustration that the first two digits of the year-figure are thus engraved on the stone  These were mistakenly read by Mr. Bilgrāmī as 66, while they correctly stand for the numeral 55  is nothing but a way of writing the figure  in vertical position with the upper portion towards right and the two ends, otherwise joined, remaining open and apart¹ Mr. Bilgrāmī while rejecting the reading, by Dr. Yazdānī, of this figure in the epitaph of Muhammad Qutb Shāh,² stated that in Persia, the numeral 6, and in Egypt and Turkey, the numeral 4, were written that way³ I am afraid, Mr. Bilgrāmī was misinformed. The figure  represents 6 in Persia, but is never written there as  And even  is nothing but the usual  written with an upward slant towards right That Mr. Bilgrāmī was wrong in interpreting the figure as 6 is borne out by the very fact that in the above-mentioned epitaph of Muhammad Qutb Shāh, the figure is corrected as 6 by him but almost the same figure, with joined ends no doubt, in another part of the same epitaph, is taken even by him to be 5 in the figure of the year of death, viz. A. H. 1035 And he has tried to reconcile the two dates A. H. 1035 and 1036 by stating that one was that of the death and the other of fixing up of the slab⁴ This is far-fetched.

The figure in question, with and without joined ends, is used to indicate the numeral 5 in quite a few inscriptions⁵ That it cannot but be taken to stand for 5 is conclusively proved by at least two epigraphs in one of them, the figures  and  are used to indicate Monday 25th and Tuesday 26th of *Dhu'l-Hijja* respectively⁶ This shows that the figure in question stood for 5 only But the most conclusive proof of my contention is afforded by an inscription from Raichur, in which the second digit of the numerical value 50, according to the *Abjad* system of the letter  is indicated by the same figure, not in one, but in three places where it occurs.⁷

In short, the figure represents only 5 and not 6 and therefore the year in which 'Abdu'llāh and his father expired was A. H. 1055 and not A. H. 1066.⁸

The headstone on the grave of Khairat Khan is also arch-shaped and measures 85 cm. from apex to bottom and is 42 cm. wide. It contains five lines of writing, which, except for the obituary note occurring in the second half of the last line, contain a Quranic chapter. The reverse of this tablet is also inscribed, as in the case of the previous epitaph, with religious text, which however, comprises in this case Shiite *durūd*.⁹ In other words, in the other epitaph, the obverse had Shiite *durūd*, and the reverse, a Quranic chapter and in this one, it is *vice versa*.

The obituary, which is in Persian, places the death of Khairat Khan on the 18th Ramadan 1055 (28th October 1645). Unfortunately, no other details are given in this otherwise interesting epigraph of an eminent Qutb Shāhī official.

¹ The same mistake was committed by Mr. Bilgrāmī in his decipherment of the date of another inscription of Hyderabad discovered by him, as was pointed out in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1966, pp. 32-33.

² *EIM*, 1915-16, pl. VIII b

³ Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 139, f n.1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140

⁵ *EIM*, 1921-22, pl. X b, *ibid.*, 1925-26, pl. XI a, *ibid.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pls. XXIV b, XXXIII a & b, XXXIV a; *ibid.*, 1937-38, pls. VI a, XIX b, *ibid.*, 1949-50, pls. XIV c, XVI a; *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pl. XVIII; *ibid.*, 1963, pls. XX, XXIII; etc.

⁶ *EIM*, 1937-38, pl. VI a

⁷ *EIAPS*, 1963, pl. XXIII c.

⁸ This and the preceding two paragraphs are by the Editor.

⁹ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 5.

The text has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (٢) إِنَّا نَزَّلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ وَمَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا
 (٣) لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ لَيْلَةُ الْعَدْنِ حَدَّرَ مِنْ الْفَ سَهْرٍ
 (٤) سَرُّ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالرُّوحُ فِيهَا نَادَى نَادِيَهُمْ مِنْ
 (٥) كُلِّ امْرٍ سَلَامٌ هُنَّ مُطْلَقُ الْفَيْرَ وَفَاتَ مَعْصِرَهُ آنَادِيَ خَدْرَاهُانَ هَجَدَهُمْ مَاهٌ

درهیان سنه ١٠٥٥

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2-5) *Qur'ān*, chapter XCVII

(5) The death of the pardoned Khairat Khān (occurred on) the 18th of the month of Ramadān (A. H.) 1055 (28 October 1645)

In this epitaph too, the year A. H. 1055 was wrongly read as A. H. 1066 by Mīr Bilgrāmī.¹

From the above epitaphs, it is clear that the father expired hardly within six months of the death of his son. Unfortunately, it is not possible from the text to determine the age of 'Abdu'llāh. That he was quite young when he died, is indicated by the size of his grave and also by the term of endearment 'Babā' used for him in the text.

Khairat Khān seems to have held high position in the Qutb Shāhī court. But very little is known about him. Almost all the available information relating to him from a contemporary work, *Hadiqatul-Salā'īn* of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shirāzī, which was then not published, was given by Mr. Bilgrāmī in his account.²

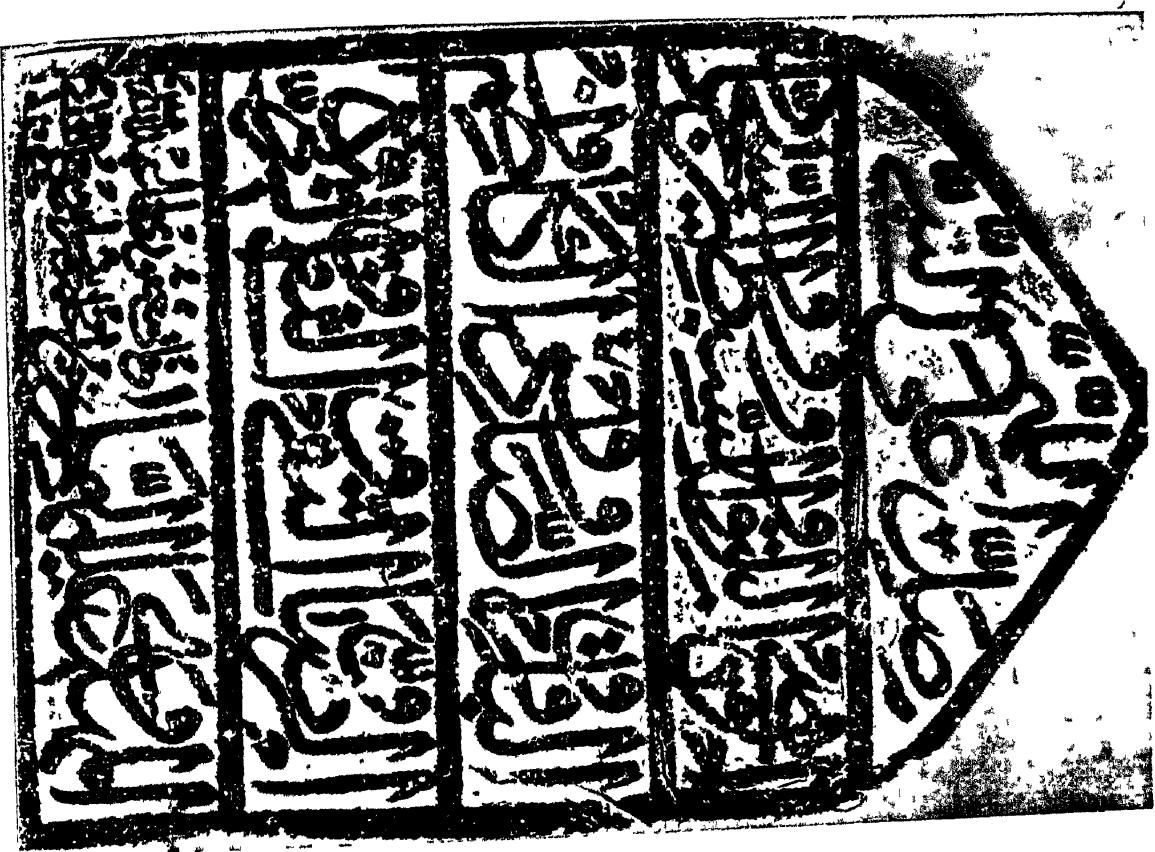
According to this work, Khairat Khān was the *sar naubat* and one of the most trusted servants of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh. He went to Iran in 1627, as the Qutb Shāhī envoy to the court of Shāh Abbās. On his way to Iran, he was summoned from Surat, the port of embarkation, to Agra by the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān who also gave him a letter for the Iranian sovereign. But by the time he reached the Iranian port Bandar-i-'Abbās, Shāh Abbās had died and was succeeded by Shāh Safī. Khairat Khān went to Isfahan, presented the letters of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh as well as of Shāh Jahān and was very well received. He started for India in 1633 and reached Hyderabad, after delivering the reply of Shāh Jahān's letter to him, in 1634. He was received with much

¹ Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 58

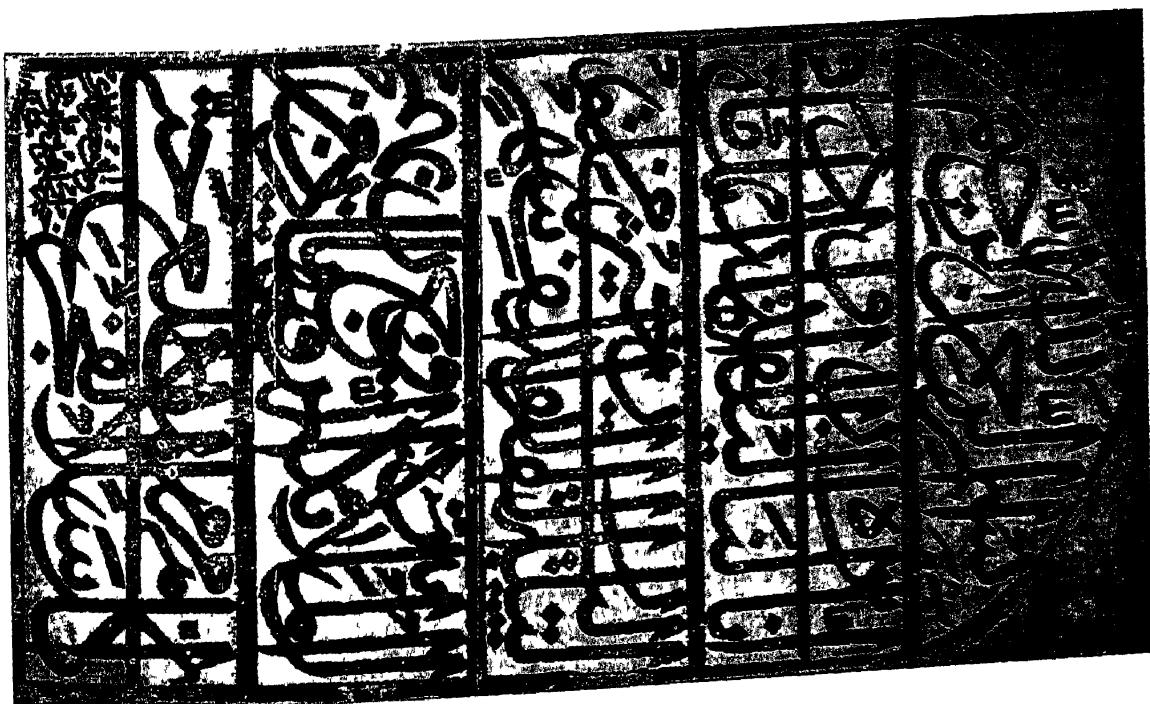
² Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60. According to Dr. Yazdānī (*EIM*, 1913-14, p. 55), Khairat Khān's embassy to Iran is also mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdu'd-Dīn Khānī*

HYDERABAD EPITAPHS

(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 1055 (p. 62)



(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 1055 (p. 64)





favour by his master, who conferred upon him the post of a minister. In 1637, he accompanied the grand mother of the Golconda monarch upto Masulipatam on the eastern coast, whence she sailed for Jeddah on Pilgrimage.

Mr. Bilgrāmī has also given the above particulars, with some details of dates. From the notes which Dr. Z. A. Desai, the editor of this journal took from this manuscript and which he was kind enough to place at my disposal, it appears that Mr. Bilgrāmī has omitted to mention that Khairāt Khān originally belonged to the Uymāq tribe and that his kinsmen were living in a village in Iran. The name of this village is unfortunately not mentioned in the above manuscript, but the author states that Shāh Safī gave the very village in *mām* to Khairāt Khān because of that fact only. Another point which Mr. Bilgrāmī has not taken note of is that Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shirāzī mentions Khairāt Khān as a 'man of great wealth and generosity' and also as 'one who had rendered great services'.¹

Khairāt Khān also finds mention in a few epigraphs, of which two, earlier published by Dr. Yazdānī, have also been noticed by Mr. Bilgrāmī. According to these, he had constructed several shops and a well and a garden in 1640 and a granary in 1642.²

A third inscription, in Telugu and Persian, recording his name has been recently found at Pangal in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. Providing a much earlier date in Khairāt Khān's career, it states he had constructed a watch-tower at the top of the Bālā-Qal'a and a well in the potter's street inside the fort at Pangal in 1620, during the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shāh.³ It may also indicate that Khairāt Khān was stationed at Pangal in the early period of his career or had his fief there.⁴

[After these lines were written, it was found that the *Hadīqatu's-Salātīn*, edited by the late Mr. Bilgrāmī has been printed at Hyderabad in 1961. It seems to have been released for sale long after that date.—Editor.]

¹ *Hadīqatu's-Salātīn*, Ms. in the Salar Jang Museum Library, ff. 77 and 80.

² EIM, 1913 14, pp. 55, 57, Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³ ARIE, 1961-62, Nos. B, 38 and D, 21.

⁴ This paragraph is by the Editor.

ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANHALA

BY DR A A KADIRI, SENIOR EPIGRAPHICAL ASSISTANT

I propose to study in this article twelve 'Ādil Shāhī inscriptions from Panhālā, a place of historical interest in the Kolhapur district of Mahārāshtra. These range in their dates from A.H 918 (1512-13 A.D.) to A.H 1020 (1611-12 A.D.) and represent the reigns of four rulers of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, viz., Ismā'il (1516-34), Ibrāhīm I (1535-57), 'Alī I (1558-80) and Ibrāhīm II (1580-1636).

The earliest extant inscription from Panhālā was published in an earlier issue of this series,¹ where a brief resume of its history upto A.H 917 (1511-12 A.D.) was given. It would therefore be better to carry forward this local history to A.H 1022 (1611-12 A.D.), the date of the latest inscription of the present group, which will incidentally show the importance of these epigraphs for the local history of the fort.

From the earliest record dated A.H 918 (1512-13 A.D.) studied below, it is clear that Malik Sikandar Haidari who was, according to an earlier epigraph, the Thānadar of Panhālā in A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.),² continued to hold that post at least till A.H 918 (1512-13 A.D.). After this date nothing is known about Panhālā or its Thānadar till A.H 946 (1539-40 A.D.), when according to inscription No II, set up in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, one Yūsuf held the charge of the Panhālā fort. After this date, again, nothing is heard about the place till about A.H 954 (1547-48 A.D.), when Ibrāhīm I visited Panhālā on a pleasure-trip, according to Firīshṭa.³ This is in a way corroborated by inscription No III in which, Panhālā is referred to as the seat of government in the said year, when Dā'ud Āqā was in charge of the place. The latter seems to have continued to govern Panhālā till the following year when, according to inscription No IV, he constructed a tank. It was at about this time that Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar and Jānshīd Qutb Shāh of Golconda who followed the Shīite tenets tried to exploit their sectarian affinity with Asad Khān Lārī, an 'Ādil Shāhī official of great status, urging him to hand over the fort of Belgāum of which he was custodian to Nizām Shāh for a monetary consideration. According to Firīshṭa, Asad Khān spurned the overtures, imprisoned the persons involved in the offer, and in view of his illness, requested his master to visit Belgāum.⁴ But the Ahmadnagar historian 'Alī Tabāṭabā would have us believe that Asad Khān fell a victim to treachery and invited Burhān, then besieging Bijāpur, to come in person to Belgāum, to receive the charge of this strategic fort from him, but Ibrāhīm having somehow got an inkling of this, marched to Belgāum a couple of days before the appointed rendezvous of the Ahmadnagar king with Asad Khān there.⁵ Firīshṭa states at another place that being hard pressed by the manoeuvres of the allied forces of the Vijayanagara king Rām Rāj and Burhān, Ibrāhīm left Bijāpur which was later besieged by Burhān and went to Panhālā.⁶ On his way, he appears to have paid a visit to Belgāum on the request of his ailing general Asad Khān who ultimately breathed his last in the beginning

¹ *Epigraphy Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1964, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

³ Firīshṭa, *Tārikh-i-Firīshṭa*, Vol. II (Kānpur, 1884), p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ 'Alī Tabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Mu'āthir* (Hyderābād, 1936), p. 309.

⁶ Firīshṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

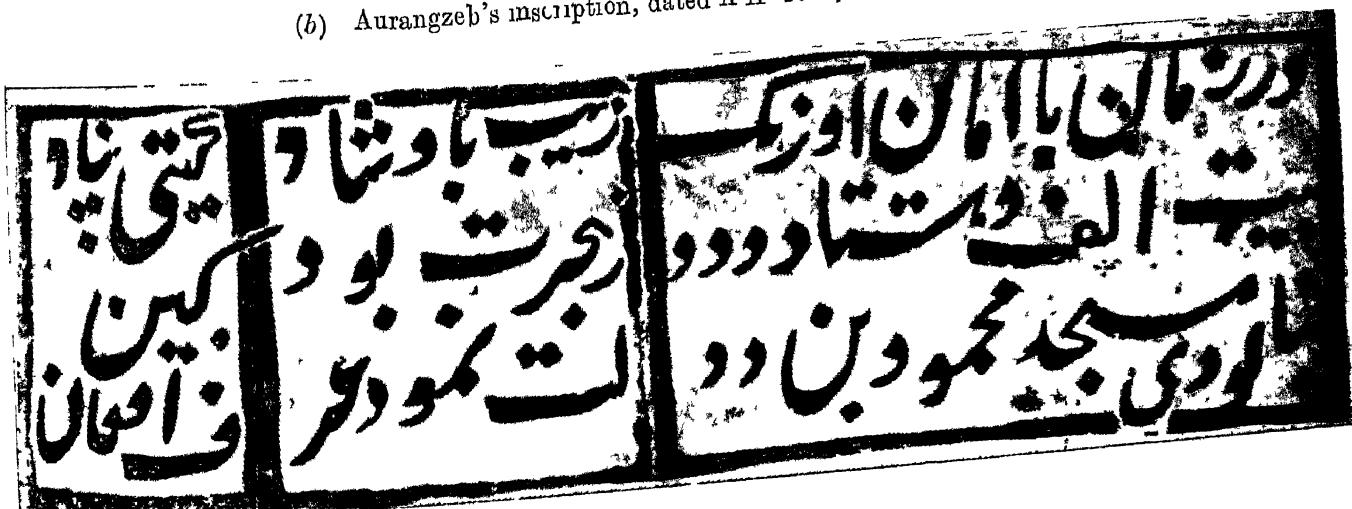
MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES XVII-XIX)

(a) Epigraph, dated A H 1100, from Amrur (p 68)

SCALE 184

(b) Aurangzeb's inscription, dated A H 1082, from Ashti (p 66)



SCALE 16

بیت (۲) :

الف و هشتاد و دو ز هجرت بود

کین (۳) ننا مسجد محمود بن دولت نمود

عرف افغان

لودی (۴)

TRANSLATION

(1) In the peaceful reign of Aurangzeb Bādshāh, the shelter of the world

(2-3) Verse · It was one thousand and eighty and two from the Migration (of the Prophet), when this mosque was constructed by Mahmūd, son of Daulat, *alias Afghān*

(4) Lodi

No information is available about Mahmūd, Afghān of Lodi clan

II EPIGRAPH, DATED A H 1100, FROM AMNER

This interesting epigraph is engraved on a slab, measuring 57 by 57 cm which is fixed on the outer side of the eastern wall of the tomb of La'l Khān, a large domed building in stucco with small spires at each corner, at Amner in Morsi tāluka of the Amraoti district¹. It was first noticed in the district gazetteer, where a faulty rendering in English was also given.² Subsequently, Rāj Bahādur Hirālāl too noticed it in his List, but his brief notice, though certainly an improvement, also from a suffers mistake or two³.

The text consists of eight lines of writing of which the first is devoted to the religious text comprising *Bismi'llāh*, the First Creed and the names of the first four caliphs. The next six contain a couplet each in Persian, and the last line records the dates. The quality of the Persian verses is unfortunately not only mediocre, but is also somewhat ambiguous, with the result that their purport is not absolutely clear. But it seems to state that La'l Khān, a servant of Rājā Kishan Singh, laid down his life in the service of emperor Aurang Shāh 'Ālamgīr, i.e. Aurangzeb, on the 4th Ramadān. The year of La'l Khān's death in the battle is given as A.H. 1100, regnal year 34, which is irregular in the sense that 4th Ramadān of A.H. 1100 was the fourth day of the regnal year 33. But since the chronogram in words contained in line 7 yields A.H. 1100, we may safely presume that 34 is either the composer's or engraver's mistake for 33. La'l Khān must have thus died on the 4th Ramadān A.H. 1100 (12th June 1689).

The text further records that though La'l Khān attained martyrdom at a place called Badhner, he was buried at Amner. It assigns the construction of his tomb as well as a mosque, a tank and a flourishing garden to one Husain. The date of the construction of the tomb is given as regnal year 36, which, if not a mistake of calculation (as in the case of La'l Khān's date of death as stated

¹ ARIE, 1964-65, No D, 121. The tomb was briefly described in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, pp. 39-40, where the gist of the inscription is incorrectly given.

² S V Fitzgerald and A E Nelson, ed. *Central Provinces District Gazetteers, Amraoti District*, vol. A (Bombay, 1911), pp. 350-51.

³ Hirālāl, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 130, No. 178.

above) for 35—regnal year 35 started on the 1st Ramadān 1102 or 19th May 1691—would mean that the tomb and other edifices mentioned in the text were built in the year Ramadān 1103-Sha'bān 1104 (May 1692-April 1693) But I am inclined to think that the regnal year 36 is a mistake for 35, and the construction took place some time during May 1691-April 1692

The style of writing of the main text is tolerably good *Nasīra'līq* which is remarkable for its neat execution, the religious text in the first line is inscribed in mediocre *Naskh*.

The epigraph reads as under—

TEXT

Plate XVII(a)

(۱) سُمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَسْبُنَا إِنَّا بَكْرُ عُمُرِ عُثْمَانَ عَلَى
 (۲) اُو پئی حدمت او ریگ سنه عالم گیار نوکر را حه کش سنگه بسی موقود
 (۳) بود چون رور مبارکه ر چهارم رمضان
 لعلخان نیز ارس دیر کهن کرد عبور
 (۴) قالبس گرچه نهادند رخاک امنیر
 لیکن ادواح لطیعیں سپردند بحوز
 (۵) نصفانی دل و جان کرد بنا روشه حسین
 مسجد و حوض دگر ناغ چو حله معمور
 (۶) جاودان دار خدا یا نو چینیں دوشه غریب
 تابد از نرس پاکش ^تدوکان قنه نور
 (۷) سال تاریخ بجسم چو من از هارف گفت
 لعلخان یافت سهادت بیکانی بدنه تو
 (۸) عمارت مقبره سنه ۳۷۳ مرتب سد سنه ۳۷۳ حلیس والا سنه ۱۱۰۰ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh (and) Muhammad is the apostle of Allāh. Hadrat Abā Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān (and) 'Alī.

(2) For rendering service to Aurang Shah-i-Ālamgīr, with great efforts, the subordinate of Rāja Kishan Singh (namely),

(3) La'l Khān, passed away from this old world, as the auspicious day was 4th Ramadān.

(4) Though his body was interred into the earth of Amner, his benign soul was entrusted to the Houris (of Paradise)

(5) Husain with sincerity of heart and soul, constructed the tomb, a mosque and a tank (*hād*) and also a garden like flourishing Paradise

(6) Oh God! may this extraordinary tomb last for ever, and may the dome of light from his holy grave shine in both the worlds!

¹ This is probably the engraver's mistake for 'بدو کون' meaning 'in both the worlds'

(7) When I sought its date from the Angel of the Unseen, he replied that La'l Khān attained martyrdom at the place of Badhnūr

(8) The building of the tomb was completed in the (regnal) year 36. (He died in) the exalted regnal year 34, A.H. 1100.

It has been stated above that regnal year 33 and not 34, A.H. 1100, is the correct date of death of La'l Khān. He therefore died on 4th Ramadān 1100 (12th June 1689). Likewise, it stands more to reason to suppose that the tomb was also built in regnal year 35 (1691-92) and not 36 (1692-93).

From the above text and translation, it will be seen that it was not Rāja Kishan Singh who built the tomb as stated in the district gazetteer,¹ nor is Husain mentioned as the Rājā's servant, as stated by Hirālāl²

About the three personages mentioned in the text, only Rāja Kishan Singh seems to be known to history. He may be identical with Rāja Kishan Singh who succeeded Rām Singh as the zamindār of Chanda in October 1683.³ There were also Kunwar Kishan Singh and Kishan Singh Hādā, both of Aurangzeb's time, but they had died earlier.⁴ Though the possibility of La'l Khān's being the subordinate of either of the two cannot be ruled out, the odds of Rāja Kishan Singh of Chanda being the person referred to in the epigraph, appear to be heavy, as he was living and also close to the findspot of the inscription.

About La'l Khān, no information is available. That his body was brought to Amner for burial from the place of his death in the battle, shows that Amner was his fief or more probably his place of residence. Amner, as we know, was in bygone days a place of considerable importance, and the Amner tract was included in the fief of Ismā'il Khān, son of Muhammād Khān Niyāzī, whose inscription, dated A.H. 1055 (1645-46), now in the Central Museum, Nagpur, was stated by the members of the Niyāzī family to have originally belonged to Amner.⁵ It is not unlikely that La'l Khān might have belonged to the Niyāzī stock.

Husain, the builder of the edifices mentioned above, is also quite unknown, but the possibility of his being a relative of La'l Khān cannot be ruled out.

As regards the locale or the battle in which La'l Khān laid down his life, no clue is available. He is stated to have died at Badhnūr, which should mean that Badhnūr was the place where some engagement took place resulting in the death of La'l Khān. There are quite a few places bearing this name in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc., as also in other parts in the south, e.g. Badnur in Merwara region of Rajasthan, one each in Bijapur and Gulbarga districts of Mysore and three in the adjoining districts of Betul and Chhindwara in Madhya Pradesh. Of these, each of the three places in Madhya Pradesh are within a distance of not more than 100 kilometres from Amner. There is Gori-Bidnur in the Tumkur district of Mysore, which was simply called Bidnur in those days. And the queen of this Bidnur was engaged, in the year previous to the one in which La'l Khān died, in hostilities against Aurangzeb's men.⁶ But this Bidnur is rather too far to have been the place whence La'l Khān's dead body could be conveniently brought to Amner. I feel that it

¹ Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

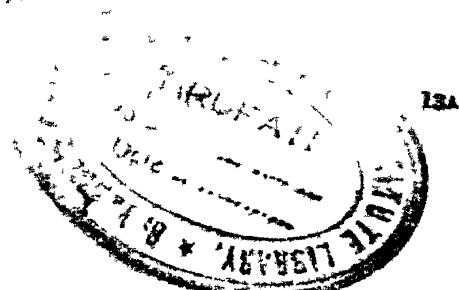
² Hirālāl *op. cit.*

³ Mustā'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgīrī* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 239, 250.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 217.

⁵ Suboor, *op. cit.*, p. 5

⁶ Mustā'id Khān, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-29.



must be one of the places near Betul-Chhindwara, which border on Wardha district, that must be the place of the battle

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED REGNAL YEAR 41, FROM ELLICHPUR

The third inscription belongs to Ellichpur, head-quarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Amravati district. Ellichpur has been historically quite important in Berar region, and finds mention in the events of the Muslim rule of the early fourteenth century. It was the capital of Berar, after Gawilgarh, in the time of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty and succeeding governors and rulers. But unfortunately, no early record, dated prior to A H. 991 (1583-84), has been traced there¹

The tablet bearing the record under notice is fixed over the main entrance of the Jāmī' mosque of the town.² Measuring 12 m by 82 cm, it contains seven Persian couplets, preceded by *Bismi'llāh* and followed by the name of the scribe, which are executed in *Thulth* of a fairly high order in six lines. The poetry of the text is also fairly impressive.

The epigraph states that the ancient Jāmī' mosque of Ellichpur, which was the pride of the town, but was lying unrepaired for centuries, was reconstructed along with its reservoir (*haud*) and well by the great Khān 'Alī Mardān Khān, through the efforts of Shāh Muhammad Baig, in the 41st regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign corresponding to A H 1108 (1697). The Hijra date is also afforded by a chronogram. The scribe has signed his name as Muhammad Hāshim 'Alī Mardān Khānī

I have read the text as under —

TEXT

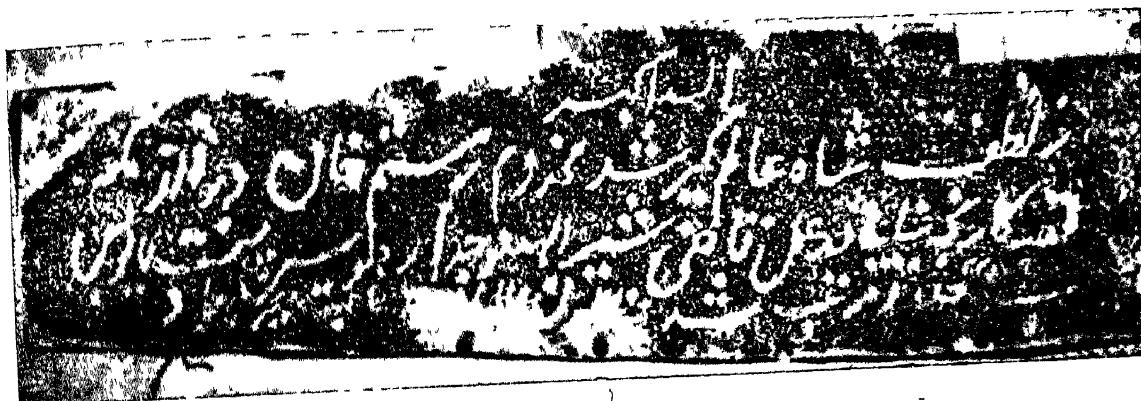
Plate XVIII(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به ثقني
 (۲) در زمان دولت خافان عالمگیر شاه آنکه حکم نافدش تاج از سر قیصر و بود
 (۳) کنگل نعل سمندش مه کلف از بخ زدود
 (۴) مرمت از مرود دهر دون افتاده بود
 (۵) شد باندک فرستی آئینه دار قصر جود
 (۶) نیتس چون خیر بود این کار را زینت فزود
 (۷) نکته عذب البیانه زمز از چاهس شنود
 (۸) شاه محمد بیگ ساعی بود در این کار خیر
 (۹) موح حوض جان فرایش آبروئی طاعت سرت

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No D, 62. For the history of Ellichpur as well as Berar, of which it was the premier city, see Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp 33-100.

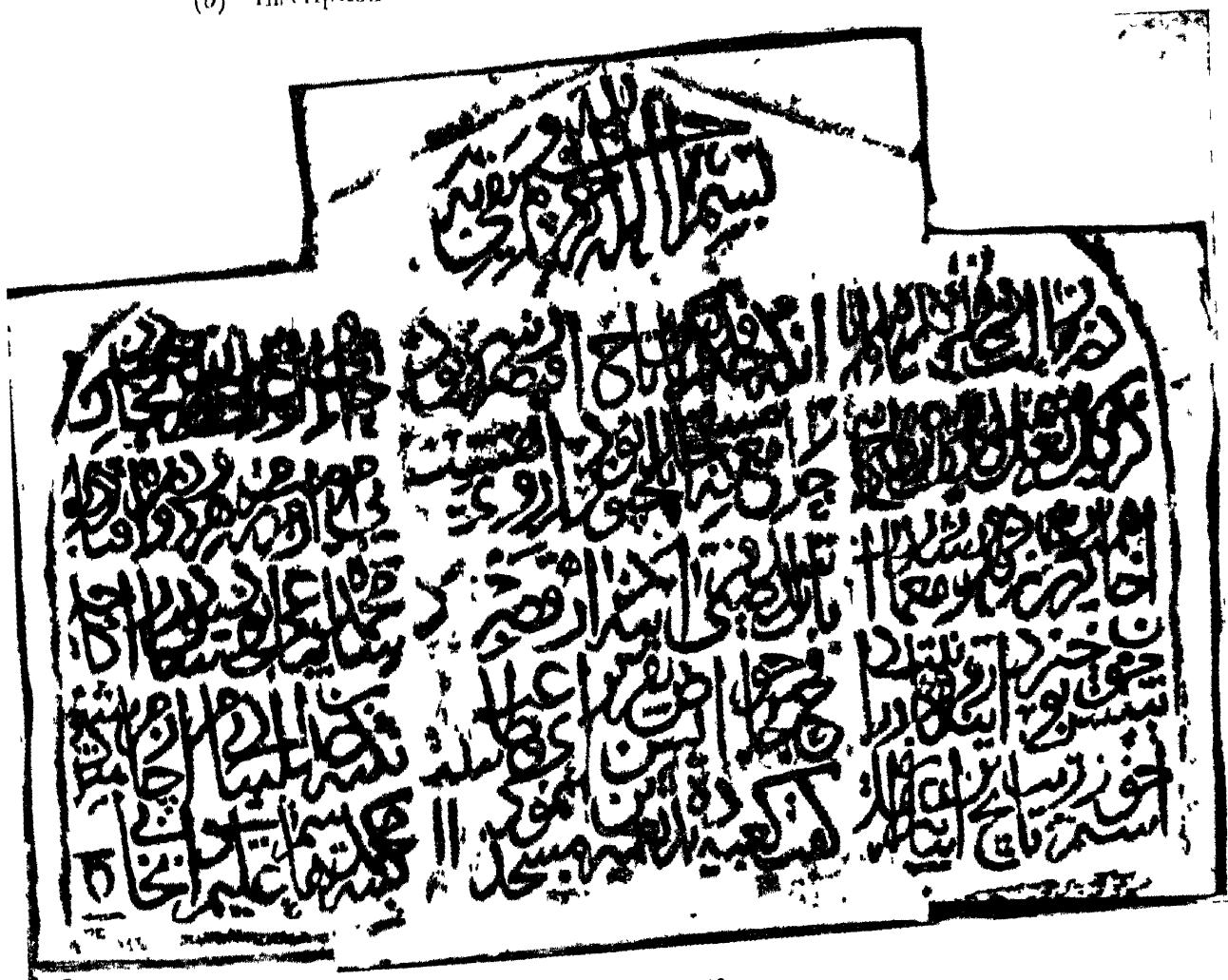
² *ARIE*, 1964-65, No D, 99. Hirālāl, *op. cit.*, p. 128, has noticed it very briefly.

(a) Record of Auiangzeb, dated regnal year 42, from Karanja (p. 72)



SCALE 16

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A H 1108, from Ellichpur (p. 70)



SCALE 13

۷) خواستم تاریخ رسی ای ننا از پیر عقل گف کعبه دردۀ نعمیر ایں مسجد نمود
۱۱۰[۸]

کتبہ محمد ہاسم علیمردان خانے ۲

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And in Him I have trust.

(2) In the time of the reign of the king 'Ālamgīr Shāh, whose absolute order removed the crown from the head of Caesar,

(there was) 'Alī Mardān Khān, the champion of religion and the commander of the world,

(3) by the dust of the shoe of whose horse, the moon wiped the spots from its face
The Jāmī' mosque, on account of which Ilchpūr (Ellichpur) was (like) Paradise, had remained desolate and without any repairs, on account of the passage of the mean Time

(4) The magnanimity of the (said) Khān of sky-like status repaired it, and within a short period, it became the mirror of the Jūd (lt. of munificence) palace
(It was) Shāh Muhammed Baid (who) strove for this charitable work

(5) As his intention was sincere, the work was accomplished more beautifully.
The wave of its life-refreshing reservoir is the water of the face of (i.e. adds lustre to) devotion The Zamzam^۱ learnt the point of sweet description from its well.

(6) When I asked the date of its construction from the old man of Wisdom, he replied, 'One who has seen the Ka'ba has repaired this mosque' (A H) 110[8]. Written by Muhammed Hāshim 'Alī Mardān Khānī, (regnal year) 41 (1697).

Mir Husainī, entitled 'Alī Mardān Khān, who extensively repaired and renovated the old Jāmī' mosque of Ellichpur, which is locally believed to have been first constructed in the time of Muhammed bin Tughluq Shāh,^۲ was an eminent official of Aurangzeb. He is mentioned in historical works as 'Alī Mardān Khān Haidarbādi, since before entering the service of Aurangzeb in the 30th regnal year, he was one of the eminent noblemen of the last Qutb Shāhi ruler, Sultan Abu'l-Hasan. He received from Aurangzeb the title of 'Alī Mardān Khān with a rank of 6000. He died some time during the 49th regnal year (started 17th December 1704). He is stated to have been appointed to the governorship of Berar some time in A H 1105 (1693) subsequent to his release from the Marāthā captivity of two years. Before his death, he also acted as the deputy of Muhammed Bidār Bakht at Burhanpur^۳

The present inscription supplies the additional information that as late as in A.H. 1106 (1697), 'Alī Mardān Khān was in Berar. This is important, as the exact date of his appointment as governor to, or transfer from, Berar is not recorded anywhere. The epigraph also furnishes one more piece of information: In case the first phrase of the second hemistich of the last couplet, which

^۱ Hagar's well in Ka'ba at Mecca.

^۲ Fitzgerald and Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 397

^۳ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.* vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 824-25 Mustā'id Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 364, *mentions* only his release from captivity.

evidently refers to 'Alī Mardān Khān, is correctly translated, as it most probably has been, it would mean that he had, some time in the past, performed pilgrimage to the Ka'ba

About the scribe Muhammad Hāshim, nothing is known. He must have been a professional calligrapher apparently of no mean merit, and the appellation 'Alī Mardān Khānī shows that he was in regular employ of the governor. About Shāh Muhammad Baig also, nothing could be traced. He may have been a local official.

IV INSCRIPTION, DATED REGNAL YEAR 42, FROM KARANJA

The fourth inscription of this article which constitutes the last record of Aurangzeb, comes from Karanja in Murtazapur *tāluka* of Akola district. Engraved on a tablet measuring 86 by 22 cm, fixed on the right side of the Pūhā gate of the town,¹ it forms the third record of the time of Rustam Khān, the *jāgīrdār*, and Qādī Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*, of Kāranja Bibi, the other two dated in the 42nd (as in the case of the one under study) and 43rd regnal years of Aurangzeb having been published in an earlier issue of this Journal.² The text consists of four lines of writing in Persian partly in prose and partly in verse. It states that Rustam Khān became the master through the kindness of Shāh 'Ālamgīr, which can only be taken to mean that he became the fief-holder, particularly since in his other two records from the place referred to above, he is termed as *jāgīrdār* of the place. It further states that the gate of the *qasba* of Kāranja-Bibi—called Makka Gate in the text—was built in the 42nd regnal year (March 1698–February 1699), during the time of Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*.

The text of this epigraph has the same purport as that appearing on the Dārwā gate of the town, also built in the 42nd regnal year.³ The calligraphy of both the records is likewise similar, which means that both were inscribed by the same person, whose name is not given in either of the two.

The style of writing is fairly good *Nasta'liq*. Some letters in the last line, being damaged, could not be read. The text has been deciphered as under.—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(a)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) ز لطف شاه عالم گیر شد مخدوم دستم خان - دروازه مکہ

(۳) قصبه کاربجہ بے بے در عمل قاصی بسیر الله فوجدار جلوس میمنت مانوس

(۴) سنه ۴۲ چھل دو ترتیب سد عاقبت بخیر باد

TRANSLATION

(1) Allah is great!

¹ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No D, 97.

² *EIASPS*, 1963, pp. 55-56.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

(2) Through the kindness of Shāh 'Ālamgīr, Rustam Khān became the lord (i.e. fief-holder).¹
The Makka gate

(3-4) of the *qasba* Kāranja-Bibī was completed in the time of Qādi Bashiru'llāh, the *faujdār*,
(in the) auspicious regnal year fortytwo, 42 (A H 1109-3 March 1698-20 February 1699)
.. .. May the end be good!

As stated above, both Rustam Khān and Bashiru'llāh find mention in two inscriptions from Kāranja. The former is mentioned therein as the *jāgīrdār* of the place, which fact also is more or less conveyed in the present epigraph, by the word *makhdūm* (lord) used for him. It is difficult to say if our Rustam Khān is identical with Sayyid Rustam Khān Dakhnī, Firūz Jang's deputy in Berar sometime after the 33rd regnal year of Aurangzeb, who held Balapur and other places in his fief.² About Bashiru'llāh, it is only from these three epigraphs that we know of his tenure as *faujdār* of the place, at least during the regnal years 42-43.

V-VI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A H 1180, FROM ELLICHPUR

The fifth and sixth inscriptions, with which the present study concludes, are again from Ellichpur. They were engraved in the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806) and as such, are important in showing that the Mughal emperor, despite his dwindling authority, was still acknowledged as, if nothing more, a titular head by Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh II of Hyderabad, who was the virtual master of the Berar province.

The tablets of these two records flank the Hirāpūra gate of the town. Both the epigraphs contain the same purport, which runs to the effect that in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, Nawwāb Amir Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh instructed Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān Bahādur, the governor (*nāzīm*) of the province (*sūba*) of Berar, to strengthen the fort of Ellichpur (Ellichpur) and reconstruct the Hirāpūra gate, and accordingly, the work was carried out by Khūshkhabar Khān in the year A H. 1180 (1766-67).

The tablet, fixed on the right side of the gate,³ measures 50 by 70 cm and is inscribed with a nine-line Persian text in prose and verse. Its purport is more detailed than that of the other record, in that it mentions the construction of the gate and also its name and gives the name and titles of the Āṣaf Jāhī chief and his Berar governor.

The style of writing is pleasing *Nasta'liq*. The letters are damaged by the weathering of the stone, but that has not affected the decipherment of the text which is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XIX(a)

- (۱) بعهد سا[ه] عالم [ناد] ساه حس[ب] [ا] لحكم
- (۲) نواب نظام الد[و]له بهادر آصفخاه
- (۳) ياسمين خان سهاد[ر] نظام صوبه برادر
- (۴) از سر نو بیا[د]ی(؟) [در]وا[زه] هیراپو[د]ه

¹ This is in verse and forms one hemistich.

² Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 504.

³ *ARIE*, 1964 65, No D, 103.

(۱) فرمودا[ستصو]اب حوت خر حان
 (۲) زینت استحکام گرف در سال
 (۳) هزار و یکصد و هشتاد[سن هجر نبوی]
 (۴) بحستم [چو] ناریخ سال بنایش
 (۵) ندا داد هاتف [خجسته همایون

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh. By order.
 (2) Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Daula Bahādur Āsaf Jāh ordered
 (3) Ismā'il Khān Bahādur, the governor (*nāzim*) of the province (*qūba*) of Berār,
 (4) to construct afresh the Hirāpūra gate.
 (5) (Consequently), in the charge of Khūshkhabar Khān,
 (6) it received the beauty of strengthening, in the year
 (7) one thousand and one hundred and eighty from the Migration of the Prophet (A H 1180=1766-67 A D)
 (8) (Verse) When I asked the date of its construction,
 (9) the Angel of the Unseen, replied, 'It is auspicious (and) fortunate'.

The chronogram contained in the last line works out to A H 1180, also given in figure.

The second inscription of the Hirāpūra gate and the last of the study is fixed on its left side¹. It is engraved on a tablet measuring 50 by 70 cm and consists of three couplets in Persian followed by the date-figure. Its purport is same as in its above mentioned counterpart, but here the Āsaf Jahi chief and its Berar governor are only mentioned by the titles Āsaf Jāh and Nawwāb Ismā'il Khān respectively, and it only states that the former had ordered the 'strengthening of the fort' and does not make any reference to the gate. The date is also contained in the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich.

The style of writing of this record is also beautiful *Nasta'līq*. Its text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIX(b)

(۱) در زما[ن] ساه عالم خسرو گیتی سَنَان

(۲) امر آصف جاه اشحح چون بناطم شد عیان

¹ ARIE, 1964-65, No D, 104. Its text is also quoted on page 47 in an Urdu work on the life of the patron-saint of Ellichpur, entitled *Tadhkira-i Rahmānī* by M. Mahtāb Khān of Ellichpur. It was printed at Banaras and published by the author in 1958.

(a) Epigraph of Shâh 'Alam II, dated
A.H. 1180, from Ellichpur (p. 73)

تَسْمَىٰ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ كَلِمَاتٍ
وَسَمَاءٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ رَبِّ الْأَفْلَامِ
أَسْمَاءٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ نَارٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ
فَوْهُ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ شَرِيكٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ
بَشَّارٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ مَوْلَانِي مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ
خَادِمٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ مَوْلَانِي مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ
خَادِمٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ مَوْلَانِي مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ

(b) Another record of the same date,
same place (p. 74)

مَنْزَهٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ كَلِمَاتٍ
مَنْزَهٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ نَارٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ
مَنْزَهٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ شَرِيكٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ
مَنْزَهٌ مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ مَوْلَانِي مَعَ الْمُنْزَهِ

a bastion called the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (lit. Bastion of Might) was constructed by Shamsu'd-Din, the king's Deputy, out of the treasures of Panhālā, in A H 985 (1577-78 A D).

The notice of this record also occurs in the Bon bay Gazetteer, and it is fairly correct. The only error of some consequence is that the builder and the governor is called 'chief of cavalry' and 'deputy governor' which is not correct.

The epigraph furnishes the valuable information that Shamsu'd-Din was the king's Deputy and incharge of the fort of Panhālā. Persian chronicles appear to be silent about him¹.

The quality of the verse is quite good and the style of writing is also fine *Naskh*. The pleasing calligraphical effect is accentuated by a vertical floral border occurring at each of the right and left ends of the text which has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(۱) سام حدائی که در هیچ جای
نبود و نیا سد بجر وی حدای
که
(۲) بعهد شمشه علی بادساه سد برح قدر بعصل الله
که بود سه او نائب کامگار
(۳) لنا کرده شمس الدین سه سوار
که بود سه او نائب کامگار
(۴) قلعه پکی برح است او ز^۲ گنج ر نهاد فروں بود هساد و پنج

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, except Whom, there was no and there will never be any other God anywhere

(2) In the reign of the emperor 'Alī, the king, the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (i.e. Bastion of Might) was constructed through the bounty of God.

(3) It was built by Shamsu'd-Din, an expert rider,³ who was the victorious deputy (i.e. governor).

(4) He constructed a bastion in the fort out of the treasures (at Panhālā),⁴ it was eighty and five above nine hundred (A.H. 985=1577-78 A.D.)

VII ANOTHER RECORD OF 'ALĪ I, DATED A H 987

The slab bearing the second record of 'Alī I and seventh of the group is also preserved in the Kolhapur Museum⁵ and measures 1.25 m by 72 cm. At the time the inscription was noticed in the Gazetteer, the tablet was lying near the Ambā Bāi's temple at Panhālā and was believed

¹ He does not appear to have to do anything with a contemporary official of similar rank *Faujād Khān* the whose name was Shamsu'd-Din (G. H. Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol. V, pt. I, 1964, p. 111). For he already held the title *Faujād Khān* in Shūhū 964 i.e. A H 971 (1563) 64 A.D., while the present record fourteen years later mentions no title.

² Could Ganj here be intended for *Ganch* the local corruption of *gach*, that is mortar? —Ed.

³ It is perhaps not correct to translate *Shahsawār* as the 'Chief of the Cavalry' as done in *BG* loc. cit.

⁴ Please see foot-note above

⁵ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 191.

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(2) In the reign of Abu'l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, (this) gate of the fort was constructed by the servant Maqsūd, may his sins be pardoned, in the year four (and) nineteen (and) nine hundred (A H 994=1586 A D) Written by Mullā Rajab

The builder Maqsūd, for once, may be identified satisfactorily. We are told of one Maqsūd Khān who was in the employ of the king. When in A H 988 (1580 A D), taking advantage of confusion consequent upon the death of 'Alī I, 'Ainu'l-Mulk imprisoned the Abyssinian nobles Ikhlās Khān, Hamid Khān and Dilāwar Khān and was taking them out of Bijāpur in chains, Maqsūd Khān along with his companions and others followed them and intercepting 'Ainu'l-Mulk at the Allāhpur Gate, freed them and brought them to the new king¹ 'Ainu'l-Mulk now apprehending trouble from the royal slaves precipitately made way to his fief². But the Abyssinians trio too, on their part, nurtured apprehension from the royal slaves as well as other Deccanī nobles and tried to disperse them by appointing them to distant forts and places³. It was as a result of this strategy perhaps that Maqsūd Khān was sent to Panhālā as its commandant at about this time i.e. some time after A H 988. He is likely to have continued in that capacity till after A H 994 (1586 A D), the date of the record under study. Some time before Dhu'l-Hijja 1003 (August 1596), as Superintendent of the royal elephants, he is reported to have taken part in the battle against Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh⁴. That he was a foreigner Turk from Georgia, is stated by Firīshṭa,⁵ and that is why in the next two records (Nos. IX, X), which are written by the same scribe Maulānā Rajab, he is called Maqsūd Āqā. These records are the only source which indicate Maqsūd Khān's association with Panhālā.

IX. ANOTHER RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED SHUHŪR 1008

The ninth epigraph of the group and the second of Ibrāhīm II, occurs on the western wall of the dining hall of the Inspection Bungalow⁶ in the Fort, which is known as Sujhā Kothi.⁷ The slab on which it is engraved in relief measures 85 by 50 cm. and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse, executed in fairly good Thulth characters, but the quality of the verse is mediocre.

The epigraph states that Maqsūd Āqā constructed on the terrace of the fort a pleasant palace, one Nauras yard in width and two Nauras yards in height, in Shuhur 1008 i.e. A H 1016 (1607-08 A D). It was written by Maulānā Rajab, the scribe of the previous record.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Gazetteer where its English rendering is not without mistakes but it does convey the purport fairly accurately except that it takes Rajab, the name of the calligrapher, as the month in which the construction took place and that it does not mention Nauras Gaz⁸ but only Nauras which by itself is not a term indicating measure of length. The term only indicates nine times, for we commonly come across terms such as Nauras-Hon i.e. nine Hons, etc., in the royal orders of Ibrāhīm II⁹ and his successors.¹⁰

¹ Firīshṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 52, Zubārī, *op. cit.*, p. 175

² Zubārī, *op. cit.*, p. 179

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180

⁴ Firīshṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, 157, Zubārī, *op. cit.*, p. 228

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *ARIE*, 1963 64, No. D, 206

⁷ This palace, on the terrace of the Panhālā hill, is popularly known by this name, as it was here that Shīvājī had imprisoned his son Sambhājī.

⁸ *BG*, p. 424, No. 13

⁹ His infatuation for the term Nauras is well-known

¹⁰ For a note on Nauras, see *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXVIII (1954), pp. 333-35, Zubārī, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

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The text has been read by me as under —

TEXT

Plate XXI(a)

(۱) در سلطنت ابراهیم عادلشاه ورخ لقا
یر سر. یام فعله کرده سد محل دلکسا
سا کرده مقصود آوا ان منظر خوس نما
(۲) یکنورس گر عرض ند دو نورس بلند
(۳) در شهود منه ثمان الف سد کین کاخ نکو
نا دب مؤبد ناد ان فصر باصعا
کتبه مولانا در حب

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of auspicious countenance, an attractive palace was built on the terrace of the fort

(2) It was one *Nauras* (i.e. nine) yards in width and two *Nauras* (i.e. eighteen yards) in height. This (building of) pleasing view was erected by Maqsūd Āqā

(3) In the *Shuhūr* year one thousand and eight (*Shuhūr* 1008 i.e. A.H. 1016=1607-08 A.D.), this excellent edifice was constructed. O Lord! May this pure edifice last for ever! Written by Maulānā Rajab

X THIRD RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED A.H. 1020

The third record of Ibrāhīm II and tenth of the present lot is fixed above the central *mīhrāb* of the Jāmī‘ Mosque in the Ibrāhīmpurā locality¹. The inscriptive slab measuring 68 by 41 cm contains three lines of writing, of which the first one is in Arabic prose, while the remaining two contain a Persian verse each carved in relief in fairly good *Thuluth* characters. It is stated to have been penned by the same Maulānā Rajab who had designed the two previous records. As it is, it is the best of the three, calligraphically. But as in the case of the other two, the text is a fine specimen of mediocre poetry.

The inscription states that Maqsūd Āqā constructed a mosque with a clean tank in *Shuhūr* 1011 i.e. A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.) and that the text was written by Mullā Rajab.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, and the translation quoted there is as usual faulty, but the purport is correctly stated except for two mistakes of consequence. The first is that the date given is *Shuhūr* 1021, which is wrong, as the text has 1011 in words which, though not so specified must refer to the *Shuhūr* era, as this year is equivalent to the Year 1020 given in figure, which is intended as *Hijra* era. Secondly, here again, the name of the scribe Mullā Rajab is mistaken for the month of Rajab and the word Mullā has been wrongly read as *Malāz*.²

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 208

² *BG*, p. 424, No. 14.

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